

UNITED NATIONS

1993

By FRED KHUMALO

DESPITE the blood that flowed in Natal as the region succumbed to the grip of political violence in 1992, the year ended on a hopeful note with the recent signing of treaties in the war-torn areas.

Traditional hotspots ranging from the south coast region to the midlands have seen thousands of refugees flocking back to the homes they fled during the fighting. Yesterday's enemies are entering the new year singing a tune of peace.

While it is true that at least 30 deaths were reported in different parts of Natal over the Christmas period, it is notable that these emanated from family feuds and other "faction fighting" which is apolitical in nature. The peace process gradually taking root in Natal is manifest in these developments.

■ In Brumville near Mooi River, one of the hardest hit areas in the Natal midlands, both ANC and Inkatha supporters agreed to the appointment of an independent mediator to facilitate the local peace process this week.

Hope that rivers of blood will stop flowing

The final Goldstone Commission report on the Mooi River-Brunville violence issued this week discloses that the Association of Law Societies has recommended Nico Coetzer as mediator and both parties are now to meet him.

The commission suggests that among his first tasks, the mediator should try once again to establish a local dispute resolution committee in the area, a step which has been tried in the past without success.

At the same time the new mediator should pay urgent attention to the social and economic problems of the area. Conflict in the township has been between the hostel dwellers - who are politically sympathetic to Inkatha - and township dwellers who support the ANC.

The Goldstone Commission has also suggested that international observers be invited to help smooth the peace process in the township.

■ Inkatha and ANC negotiating teams met this week to continue their series of preparatory talks for a possible summit between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthe.

At the end of the meeting held in Durban on Tuesday, the two parties agreed to set up four ad-hoc committees to "expedite and accelerate the convening of the much awaited meeting between the leadership of both organisations."

This series of meetings - the first was on December 9 - will be resumed on January 15 to discuss what could be the final details for the crucial meeting.

Said a joint statement by Inkatha and ANC negotiating parties: "Our discussions continued to demonstrate that it is both possible and necessary to resolve the various matters which have led to conflict between the two organisations."

Observers have pointed out that while the Mandela-Buthe meeting will not necessarily stop the violence, it will however set the tone for possible peaceful dialogue at national level between the organisations led by the two.

The fact the teams met and made some progress bodes well for the resumption of dialogue between the ANC and Inkatha.

■ In the south coast areas which have been making headlines as a result of the escalation of violence there over the past three years, peace treaties between the ANC and Inkatha have already borne fruit. In Ensimbini, just inland of Uvongo, thousands of refugees who fled the area a year ago as political violence escalated have already returned to the area.

Just before Christmas people from Ensimbini and other areas around Port Shepstone started rebuilding their homes and re-establishing friendships and bands of neighbourliness in communities that were torn apart by violence.

While the Goldstone Commission has played an important role in identifying areas of conflict, international observers from the United Nations and the Commonwealth Observer Group have also been instrumental in getting Inkatha and the ANC to the negotiating table at local level.

At present there are 28 foreign peace observers in Natal - from the Organisation of African Unity, the European Commission, the United Nations and the Commonwealth.

At the height of the south coast violence, Commonwealth Observer Group head Dr Moses Anati took a bold step and brought together traditional chiefs, Inkatha, the ANC, local monitors and church people, the police, local businessmen and refugees to talk reconciliation, resettlement and reconstruction.

While the situation appeared delicate at the beginning of the process, the negotiating parties confided in each other about each other's point of view - and a bond of trust and respect was built.

Prominent among those present at the peace deliberations were Chief Malalakubo Kwawula from Umzumbe, Chief Aaron Ndwenane and Chief Samuel Mavundla from the Port Shepstone area, and Chief Welington Hlangwa. Their participation in the peace process ensured its success.

The Goldstone Commission has heard how the chiefs had previously felt sidelined and thought the authority and power they exercised over their areas

were put at stake by youths who wanted the ubuthixo (chief-tancy) institution dismantled.

Their involvement in the peace initiative was seen by many as a recipe for the success of the peace settlement.

And this week, the Goldstone Commission recommended that there be an undertaking by political parties and organisations to give due recognition to the role of tribal chiefs and to pay due respect to them. Their role should be defined and made a matter of public record.

After the peace deliberations in the south coast, a local dispute resolution committee for Umzumbe was set up through the co-operation between the chiefs, the Commonwealth Observers and other interested parties.

The climax of the initiative was a series of rallies held at different areas in Port Shepstone where Inkatha and ANC supporters buried the hatchet and shared each other's company, singing, dancing and embracing. Those who had fled their homes in the wake of fighting, returned home.

The United Nations Observer Mission, led by Ismail Steiner, sees its role in SA at the moment as to "assist the parties in SA to bring about an effective end to violence and to create conditions for negotiations that will lead to a peaceful transition to that goal."

That aim, it seems, is almost being realised with the co-operation of the two warring organisations who are responding positively to the work done by independent, international monitors.

While 1992 might have been an annus horribilis (horrible year, to quote Queen Elizabeth II of Britain) for the majority of South Africans, Natalians - the first people in the country to bear the brunt of inter-racial violence on an alarming scale - have set the tone for peaceful negotiations that could see the long-awaited arrival of peace in the country in 1993.

3/1/93

336

UN opposes aircraft sale to SA

THE UN is putting pressure on Swiss authorities to prevent the export of 60 Pilatus trainer aircraft to SA for use by the SA Air Force. **510AM 41193**

The SA government earlier announced that the aircraft would be purchased at a cost of about R500m to replace the SAAF's ageing Harvard trainer fleet by 1995.

A committee, set up by the UN Security Council to monitor the 1977 mandatory arms embargo against SA, last week rejected the Swiss government's submission that the Pilatus PC-7 was not "war material" and could therefore be sold to SA.

The UN committee said in a news release it believed the sale would be contrary to the spirit and intent of Security Council resolution 418 (1977), which established the arms embargo against SA.

"Furthermore, the committee noted that in its resolution 591 (1986), the Security Council had urged all states to prohibit the export to SA of 'items which they have reason to believe are destined for the military and/or police forces in SA, have military capacity and are intended for military purposes, namely aircraft, aircraft en-

STEPHANE BOTHMA 334

gines, aircraft parts ... and had also called upon states to refrain from participating in any activities in SA which they have reason to believe might contribute to its military capability," the UN said.

The London-based Anti-Apartheid World Campaign Against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with SA, which has been lobbying to get the sale called off, said it would have talks with the Swiss foreign minister on the issue this month.

"We have also been in touch with the manager of the Pilatus aircraft company," campaign director Abdul Minty said.

He said the proposed Pilatus deal also breached an agreement reached by the EC in 1985 and Switzerland would therefore be under additional pressure — especially since Britain and others had made it clear their companies could not enter into deals with the SAAF.

SA Foreign Affairs spokesman Awie Marais said government had taken note of the UN committee's move and developments would be monitored closely.

Protestors in Somalia invade UN compound (336)

MOGADISHU — About 1 000 stone-throwing demonstrators climbed over the wall of the compound of the UN forces building in Mogadishu yesterday.

The protest was staged after secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali arrived in Somalia. The demonstrators tore down the blue-and-white UN flag.

The secretary-general, who first visited a relief centre northwest of Mogadishu, was due to hold a news conference in the UN forces' building.

The demonstrators, supporters of Gen Mohamed Farah Aidid, one of the principal warlords, first blocked the entrance to the building, then replaced the UN flag with a Somali flag.

The protesters accuse the UN and the secretary-

general of supporting Aidid's main rival, Mohammed Ali Mahdi.

Boutros-Ghali arrived in the Somali capital Mogadishu yesterday to visit a famine relief centre and, later, to meet representatives of the UN Operation in Somalia (Unosom).

He was due to spend three hours in Somalia before flying to the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa to chair peace talks today and tomorrow between feuding clan factions that have wrecked Somalia.

Aidid's organisation, one of Somalia's main political factions, announced yesterday that it would attend the peace talks.

But it did not say if Aidid would attend.

Mahdi has agreed to attend the conference. — Sapa-AFP-AP.

B7D 4/1/93

Unicef's foreign

Staff leave

STAFF 4/1/93

MOGADISHU — The United Nations Children's Fund (Unicef) has pulled its foreign staff out of the southern Somali port of Kismayu despite the presence of hundreds of American and Belgian troops.

The move followed the killing on Saturday night of the officer in charge of Unicef in Kismayu, Briton Sean Devereux, by a Somali gunman 30 m from the agency's residence.



Sean Devereux ... murdered.

The withdrawal reflected the relief community's concern that their security was still not guaranteed despite the presence of more than 27,000 US and other foreign forces in Somalia to protect the famine relief operations.

Devereux appeared to have been singled out for murder. Two Somali Unicef staff who were with Devereux when the gunman struck were unhurt, according to a Unicef statement.

The Briton had spoken up last month about an orgy of clan killings in Kismayu and extortion of Unicef and other aid agencies by locally hired guards and drivers. — Sapa-Reuter.

Somalis drive out UN chief

MOGADISHU — Hundreds of stone-throwing Somalis, chanting "Boutros-Ghali go home" wrecked a trip to Mogadishu by the United Nations chief yesterday.

A helicopter whisked UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali back to the airport after 500 people laid siege to the headquarters of the UN Operation in Somalia (Unisom) he was supposed to visit. STAFF 4/1/93

Three of his close aides, including his under-secretary for political affairs, James Jonah, were among dozens of officials and journalists trapped in the UN headquarters.

Unison officials said Boutros-Ghali had visited a feeding centre in Mogadishu but had abandoned plans to tour the UN compound.

Some of the demonstrators tore down a UN flag at the main gate and hoisted a Somali one instead. They stoned the building and pelted it with grapefruit skins.

Leaflets tossed into the compound by the protesters denounced Boutros-Ghali as a colonialist who had taken sides in the bloody clan feuding which has destroyed their country.

At least one UN van had its back window shattered by a rock when a convoy of UN vehicles ran the gauntlet of the demonstrators to enter the compound.

Western journalists who made their way through the crowd were set upon by Somalis but none was hurt.

The crowd, which included scores of women, set up



Before the storm ... UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali arrives at a feeding centre in Mogadishu, to smiles and applause. But his visit was wrecked by a protest later in the day.

Picture: AP

makeshift wooden barricades outside the compound. Demonstrators sang "Glory, Glory Hallelujah" and "Allahu Akbar" (God is Greatest).

Four hours after the protest began, the crowd was still milling outside UN

headquarters. But it started to thin out as word spread that Boutros-Ghali had gone to the airport.

Factions aligned with warlord Mohamed Farah Aided said yesterday they would take part in talks on ending Somalia's conflict but de-

nounced UN organisers of the meeting. The Somali National Alliance, grouping four clan factions, including Aided's, said it would send "high-level delegations" to the talks in Addis Ababa today and tomorrow, to be chaired by Boutros-Ghali.

The statement did not make clear whether Aided himself would attend the talks and accused "UN bureaucrats" of meddling in the clan conflict that has gripped Somalia. — Sapa-Reuter.

Four groups boycott Somalian peace talks

6/04/93 5/1/93
ADDIS ABABA — Informal peace talks between 14 Somali groups opened in the Ethiopian capital under UN auspices yesterday and immediately ran into procedural problems.

An alliance of four groups boycotted the opening session in protest against UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's failure to invite three other allied groups. The alliance, dominated by the Darod group of clans from southern Somalia, later said it would take part, and UN officials said one of the three extra groups could attend.

To avoid such quarrels Boutros-Ghali had called the talks informal and set no agenda. "Fragmentation and fighting in Somalia have made dialogue nearly impossible. It is crucial that this occasion be used to exchange ideas and promote mutual understanding," he said, urging the groups to take part in a peace process without preconditions.

Some factions asked the UN to extend the talks but Boutros-Ghali said it could not afford to.

The UN wanted faction leaders to agree on a date, place and an agenda for a national reconciliation conference that would lead to the formation of the first Somali government since rebels ousted President Mohamed Siad Barre in January 1991.

A statement prepared for the talks on behalf of nine factions said the reconciliation conference should be held as early as February. Several of the groups also wanted the UN to set up an interim trusteeship until the Somali economy recovered.

The OAU, the Arab League and the Organisation of the Islamic Conference and Western observers were attending the talks.

□ The US would relinquish command of Operation Restore Hope to the UN by January 20, when President-elect Bill Clinton would be inaugurated, a French military source in Mogadishu disclosed yesterday. Neither the US nor France would take part in the new operation. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP.

STAR 5/1/93.

Row over UN plan for exiles

 336
By Julianne du Toit

The tiny community of Henley-on-Klip, south of Johannesburg, has voiced strong disapproval after news that Eskom buildings have been sold to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, for training returning exiles.

Willie van der Merwe, Conservative Party MP for the area, has written to the State President warning that his entire constituency would be in uproar if the plan went ahead.

P D Tunstall, chairman of the Henley Security Association, said the premises were "bang in the centre of this small residential village". He expressed concern about a rise in crime.

"We question Eskom's right as a parastatal body to take unilateral decisions which have nothing to do with its supplying electricity, and to take this particular decision in secrecy and without consultation," he said.

Major SA players in

STML 6/1/93

~~SECRET~~ ~~USA~~

US politicians are unimpressed with the performance last year of both the South African Government and the ANC, reports HUGH ROBERTSON from Washington.

THEY might not say so on the record, but most of the influential African specialists in the United States generally had a low opinion of the political talents and negotiating skills shown by the major parties in South Africa in 1992.

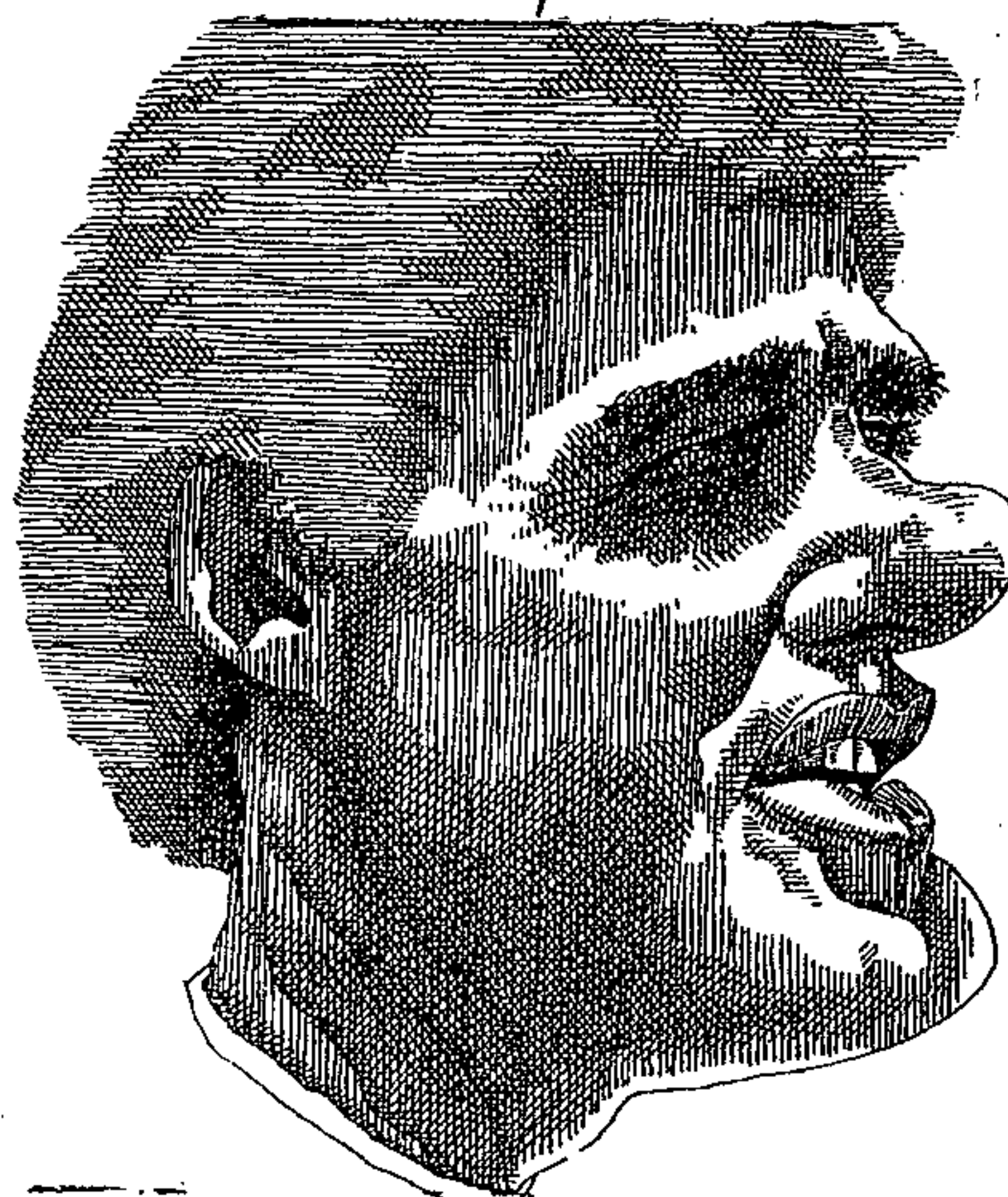
Surprisingly, since he is known for his bland and cautious statements, probably the most candid remark encapsulating this widely held view came from the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Herman Cohen, when he said at a media briefing last month: "I am not satisfied with the performance of any of the parties in South Africa."

By way of a jocular aside, he added: "How's that for even-handedness?"

In the Senate, in the House of Representatives, in the State Department, the US Treasury and, who knows, in the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency, there appears to be a consensus that the South African Government and the ANC are engaged in some bizarre competition to see who can outdo the other in ill-advised statements and inept decision-making, with both emerging triumphant.

The year started well for the Government, when President de Klerk announced a white referendum to determine whether or not whites wanted the Government to proceed with negotiations aimed at full democracy. The ANC's criticism of the referendum was lost in a deluge of praise from the US media and US officials. But to many Africanists in the US, De Klerk failed to capitalise on his win. The day after the result was announced, some of them say, should have been the day De Klerk tackled white opponents in the military and security establishment.

His long and unexplained fail-



Clinton . . . SA could become his bargaining chip.

ure to take action against manifest wrongdoing in the military and police, wrongdoing exposed more than two years ago in official inquiries into the CCB and certain police shootings, have puzzled many Americans who are otherwise sympathetic. Indeed, disciplinary steps strongly recommended by judges who investigated various actions by the police as far back as 1990 still have not been taken.

Thus it was not surprising to Americans that Mr Justice Goldstone should have rebuked the Government in the wake of the Boipatong massacre for having failed to act on his recommendations aimed at preventing such atrocities and the perception — actively promoted by the ANC — that De Klerk had some interest in allowing the military and the police an unfettered hand, gained credence.

The fact that long after all the judicial recommendations, long after the inquiries, and long after the tragedies at Boipatong, Bisho and elsewhere, De Klerk should have ordered an investigation into the role of the military in South Africa's violence and, as a result of police work undertaken partly by the

Goldstone Commission, should have dismissed generals and others of high rank for their alleged role in the violence, was reported on extensively — but the praise that might have come De Klerk's way if he had acted far earlier was missing.

Probably the biggest complaint against the ANC in 1992 was the rashness of many of its decisions and actions. The shooting at Bisho, for instance, was widely covered but so was the role of radicals who were accused of having provoked the incident. There was also much questioning of the wisdom of the campaign of mass action, which some in Washington saw as a bid by ANC radicals to wreck negotiations and attempt to force a settlement on the other parties.

ANC radicals also were seen to be behind the collapse of Codesa 2. When the deadlock over a so-called white constitutional veto was reached, the ANC's official position was that it would consider withdrawing from further negotiations. In Washington the impetus for that threat was seen to be the radicals who are viewed with great scepticism, the more so because they are suspected of being unenthu-



Cohen . . . candidly critical of SA negotiators.

siastic about negotiations anyway.

There is a pervasive belief in Washington, enunciated as much by the State Department as by Democrats and Republicans on Capitol Hill, that the only forces that would gain from a breakdown in negotiations would be those irrational extremists on the Left and Right who refuse to negotiate and who apparently believe their interests can be served by violence and confusion.

That is why Washington was so aghast when Codesa 2 collapsed, the campaign of mass action began, and the Bisho tragedy ensued.

What supported American fears was the convenient way in which the horror of the Boipatong massacre was seized upon as a reason for breaking off talks with the Government. Where previously a simple deadlock in negotiations was cited implausibly as a reason why the ANC might pull out, suddenly that rationale was abandoned and Boipatong was held up, in almost indecent relief, as a more persuasive reason for ending the talks.

Few in Washington were con-

vinced, and the resulting UN Security Council meeting on the massacre, at which the ANC failed to provide the evidence which it claimed to have of Government collusion in the massacre, produced a strictly neutral resolution which did not apportion blame. But the UN meeting had some unsung benefits for South Africa. Aside from the ANC learning that the UN was no longer the plaything of the liberation movements, the ANC was also left in no doubt that the UN was determined to ensure a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

Insofar as ANC radicals may have spurred the decision to abandon Codesa, the UN meeting must have been a disaster for them. Nothing last year more reinforced the pressure for a resumption of negotiations than the talks behind the scenes which took place quietly during that debate. So forceful were the African countries in their support of resumed talks that the PAC itself made discreet overtures in a lobby off the Security Council chamber to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha, about the possibility of it joining the negotiating process.

Earlier the PAC, as much as

US dog box



Baker . . . offer to mediate turned down.

the ANC, was given unambiguous warnings by African countries, again behind closed doors, that the world would not accept a settlement in South Africa that was not reached by negotiation. Revolutionary dreams of armed struggle, mass action and rendering the country ungovernable were rudely dashed in the sleek office towers that cluster around the UN's headquarters in Manhattan.

As the negotiations deadlock went on, alarm in Washington grew. At the height of the crisis, the US offered the services of its Secretary of State, James Baker, as a mediator to get talks resumed. Baker's interest in Africa was known to be faint, but with klaxons sounding at the National Security Council and the White House, his prestige and influence were made available to the Government and the ANC, separately. Incredibly, both sides rejected the US overture.

Washington continued to agonise as it saw both the Government and the ANC feed the fires of the far Right and far Left, and questions flew about the city. Why did the ANC set out such radical demands as a pre-

condition to resuming negotiations, demands which the Government probably could not meet? Was this a move by radicals to ensure talks did not resume?

What political leadership would fail to see that the only way to end the violence would be through rapid progress towards a truly democratic society? But there were also some shrewd insights which gave hope to the stalwart. If the ANC was playing so hard to get, it must have believed absolutely that the Government was genuine in wanting negotiations to succeed. After all, it would have been absurdly pointless for the ANC to have drawn up a long list of preconditions if it felt the Government wasn't interested in successful negotiations.

And so the faint flickers of hope were kept alive. But will they survive the inevitable tempest of change that comes when a new administration takes over at the White House? Few are willing to say, since so little is known about the foreign policy that President Bill Clinton will apply anywhere, let alone to South Africa. There are some hints, however.

Most of those who will have

the final say on South Africa policy are veterans of the Carter administration, though they have matured and grown wiser in the interim. They are honourable, principled people who remain imbued with the Carterian passion for spreading democracy and human rights.

They also believe as avidly as their predecessors that economic freedom is an indivisible part of true democracy. So, while they might be a little tougher on the Government, they are unlikely to embrace the ANC's radicals with much enthusiasm.

In an article under Carter's name, but written by an adviser, support is given for a continuation of local sanctions until an interim government is in place in South Africa.

An area of major disagreement with the Government — and feasibly with a future government — will be Armscor's programme for the development and sale of advanced weapons of mass destruction. Clinton himself has said that an end to the proliferation of such weapons will be a cornerstone of his foreign policy — and he does not mean only nuclear weapons. As Armscor is aware, the new sanctions imposed last year by the Bush administration related to the production of certain missiles and missile systems, among other things which South African newspapers are not free to report.

In trying to assess Clinton's style, his friends in Arkansas say one thing that should never be forgotten is his capacity to strike deals. And here they sound a word of caution for South Africa. The whole of Africa is fading from public and political attention in the US except, perhaps, among black Americans. Watch out for South Africa becoming a bargaining chip as Bill the Dealmaker seeks to lubricate some fairly drastic legislation through Congress, where he will need the support of the Congressional Black Caucus.

And watch out, too, they say, for a White House obsessively focused on domestic issues, to the extent that Africa — already a stepchild of US foreign policy — will become more of a nuisance than an area of major concern. — Star Bureau. □

Israel dashes deportees' hopes

STAR 6/1/93.

BEIRUT — Lebanon and Israel stood firm by their decisions to leave 415 Palestinian deportees stranded in a south Lebanon no-man's-land with little food, water and medicine.

But a chink appeared in Israel's Cabinet, previously reported to have been unanimously in favour of last month's expulsions, when Justice Minister David Libai said he had opposed the move.

"As the circumstances were, the decision was taken against my will," Libai told Israel television yesterday.

The deportees, expelled by Israel on December 17, were hopeful a new UN envoy would arrange their return home as they shivered through their 20th night at a makeshift tent camp.

Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik al-Hariri told parliament in Beirut yesterday his

government would never reverse its decision not to allow the Palestinians into its territory and to block humanitarian aid to them through Lebanese army lines.

Israel said yesterday it stood by its decision to expel the Palestinians, whom it accused of links to hostile Muslim groups that killed five Israeli soldiers, despite a threat by UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to recommend action to force their return.

Israeli spokesmen said Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin told Boutros-Ghali he welcomed a proposal to send a UN envoy to Israel, the second in two weeks.

The UN chief told the Security Council this week that he may have to recommend "further steps" should this second mission fail to secure the deportees' return as demanded by a December 18 council resolution.

Israel's defence ministry spokesman Oded Ben-Ami said: "The policy of the government of Israel is that the act of removal was used in order to protect Israelis as well as Palestinians. This act was accomplished and the government is standing behind its decision."

"We said we are going to welcome the special envoy. We will hear him and tell him what is on our mind."

The deportees' spokesman Abdul Aziz al-Rantisi hailed as "positive" Boutros-Ghali's warning.

The Russian foreign ministry said Moscow understood Israel's wish to protect its citizens, but described the expulsion of the Palestinians as a violation of international law.

A Palestinian negotiator said he feared the deportations had cost his delegation the popular support necessary to continue Middle East peace talks. — Sapa-Reuter.

Fears of anarchy in Vaal paradise

By Monica Oosterbroek

The close-knit Vaal Triangle community of Henley-on-Klip fear their beautiful and peaceful garden-village existence will become anarchic after reports that Eskom buildings have been sold to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to house and train returning exiles.

But much of the panic has been due to lack of information, according to Eskom.

Eskom property manager Herman van den Heever said the UNHCR was at this stage only considering buying the property, which has been up for sale since 1988.

It is believed the UNHCR will use the property to train refugees in basic commercial and technical skills.

The buildings, once used as a training centre for Eskom, can accommodate several hundred people in the double-storey hostels as well as dozens of teachers in small houses on the property. Teaching, sport and eating facilities also exist.

Eskom officials believe the refugees would remain only

until they moved into the cities to look for jobs and make way for other students.

But residents, who have been kept in the dark as the deal has not been finalised, are worried their peace would be shattered.

One woman, who felt her life would be endangered if her name was revealed, said she was very nervous about living with "terrorists" down the road.

"Nobody knows what is going on. We haven't been told anything and the secrecy is making us very scared," she said.

Many of the residents had moved to this tranquil part of the world to enjoy peaceful and scenic surroundings.

Rural atmosphere

"Look around you and see how special our village is," said William Small, who retired to Henley-on-Klip two years ago. He pointed out the lush vegetation, the vast array of colourful flowers blooming in gardens, the huge trees lining the lanes, and overgrown hedges, vines and creepers. As he talked about the rural atmosphere, a rider trotted down a side lane on her pony while shoppers strolled past and waved.

"It's a special piece of para-

dise hiding here in the Transvaal," he said.

He is "disgusted and appalled" by what he thinks is a massive cover-up by the Government and Eskom.

"Violent crime will soar and there will be anarchy because no one will be able to control them," he said.

Labourers, domestic workers and friends who had gathered under trees near a row of shops also expressed concern about moves to allow refugees into the area.

They fear that the refugees' families would pour into the village and that jobs would become more scarce. Some locals, unemployed and homeless, are upset and envious that refugees would be given training and accommodation.

"Surely charity should start at home? Why do refugees get all the opportunities when there are people right here who need attention and help," one man said.

Eskom has offered to make senior executives available to meet any local residents who wish to discuss the proposed sale.

The UNHCR is arranging for a meeting to take place soon at which details of the running of the centre will be explained.

Weak UN abandons democracy in Angola

8/1-14/1/93.

336

THE United Nations secretary-general, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, late last month asked President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos of Angola to meet the former rebel leader, Jonas Savimbi, in Geneva. Dr Savimbi has refused to accept the results of the September elections, certified as free and fair by the UN. Mr Boutros-Ghali threatened that if the Geneva meeting were not held, the UN would withdraw its monitoring group from Angola.

The secretary-general's initiative follows three months in which thousands of Angolans have been killed and tens of thousands ousted from their homes. The new government which emerged from the multi-party elections has been prevented by a vast military offensive on the part of Dr Savimbi's Unita troops from exercising its administration in roughly three-quarters of the country.

The government has repeatedly told the UN that a 20,000-strong Unita army, trained in Morocco and Zaire, was infiltrated into camps in east and northern Angola for this offensive.

The secretary-general's own report to the Security Council about a month ago, after an emergency visit by his top peacemaker, Marrack Goulding, said the situation had undergone a "catastrophic deterioration". Since then it has worsened daily, according to sources in Luanda, Malange, and Huambo.

In Benguela province alone, more than 80 people at various levels in the administration and the majority MPLA party have been killed or detained by Unita. In Huambo, Dr Savimbi's military fief, among the many buildings destroyed have been orphanages and old people's shelters, whose inhabitants have fled to the countryside.

In all other provinces largely under Unita military occupation, telephone and radio communications have been cut. The only information to reach Luanda comes from the anecdotal evidence of those who have managed to flee. The level of human suffering, from the terror of forcible dislocation, hunger and lack of medical care for the many wounded, is incalculable.

By offering Dr Savimbi, who refuses to meet President Dos Santos in Luanda, a meeting in Geneva, Mr Boutros-Ghali is effectively colluding with the Unita leader's refusal to abide by the democratic process, which gave the MPLA 57.8 per cent at the polls. Ninety-one per cent of Angolans voted in the election, believing it heralded the end of the 17-year war fought and funded by South Africa and the United States to oust the MPLA.

Mr Boutros-Ghali's invitation ignores the flagrant illegality of Dr Savimbi's behaviour—particularly since the elections. He has maintained and ruthlessly deployed

Unita's military machine in violation of the peace accords, signed in Bicesse in May 1991, that were to be the basis of the transition to peace and pluralism. Unita withdrew from the new national army days after its senior officers had pledged allegiance to it on the eve of the election.

This latest move by the UN follows the pattern set by the secretary-general's special representative, Margaret Anstee. Ms Anstee, both before and since the election, has been at pains in public statements to place Unita on the same footing as an elected government, 21 per cent of whose members are from parties other than the MPLA, which is trying legally and constitutionally to defend its citizens against Unita.

There can be no justification for the secretary-general's putting the prestige of his office behind a US proposal that President Dos Santos travel abroad to meet an Angolan citizen who refuses to comply with the laws of his own country.

President Dos Santos won more of the popular vote (49.57 per cent) than Bill Clinton (43 per cent), and is committed to holding a run-off election, though Unita's military offensive makes this impossible.

How would US citizens feel if President Bush demanded, under threat of violence, a leading role in Mr Clinton's administration?

US officials maintain that their long history of support for Dr Savimbi ended with the peace process. Herman Cohen, the assistant secretary of state for African affairs, told Congress on October 8 that Washington would establish diplomatic relations with the government of Angola once the UN certified the elections. On October 30, the UN Security Council's resolution 785 endorsed those elections as free and fair.

But the US is still withholding recognition, and is promoting the right of the defeated election candidate to hold negotiations on his personal future.

The collapse of authority in Angola is directly due to the UN's failure to check Unita's military offensive, and to declare Dr Savimbi's demands illegal. The UN has 210 military observers and 77 police observers in a huge country at war. This is not even the authorised strength of 350 and 316 respectively. More than 10 times this number have been sent to Mozambique and a hundred times more US troops to Somalia.

The UN's weakness in Angola has visited a tragedy upon the country in what should have been its first period of peace in three decades. Mr Boutros-Ghali's proposed meeting in Geneva can only compound the problem created by the US's refusal to give up its oldest cold war client in Africa.

By Victoria Britain

British aid worker is shot dead in Somalia

336

A BRITISH aid worker murdered in Somalia was shot dead by a lone, unknown Somali gunman 30 yards from the United Nations Children's Fund office in the southern port of Kismayu.

Charity officials said there was no obvious motive for the killing of Sean Devereux, aged 28, the officer in charge of Unicef in the town, but it was known that he had spoken out strongly against the feuding warlords who have done so much to bring about Somalia's present plight.

He had recently told reporters about eyewitness accounts he had been given of a massacre of more than 100 people by supporters of one of the warlords on the eve of the American troops landing at Mogadishu in December. He had called for the deployment of a large UN force to disarm all the gunners.

His father, Mr. Dermot Devereux, said his son was aware of the dangers and was always careful. "We talked a lot about the risks, but his

response was: 'While my heart beats I have to do what I think I can do to help those less fortunate than ourselves.'"

Unicef is withdrawing all its international staff from Kismayu, leaving a team of national staff to maintain essential feeding, medical and other support to women and children caught in the civil war.

The charity said Mr. Devereux, from Camberley, Surrey, was the first foreigner to be murdered since the US-led military force arrived last month to protect famine relief. He had worked in Somalia since September.

Hella Pick adds from Addis Ababa: At least one Ethiopian student was killed on Monday and more than 30 were badly wounded by police and army units during a mass protest against Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the UN secretary-general, who is in Addis Ababa for talks among the Somali factions.

The events were triggered by an attempted march to protest against

Dr. Boutros-Ghali's plan to visit Eritrea later in the week.

The students, opposed to Eritrean independence, wanted to register their resentment of the UN decision to send observers to the independence referendum scheduled for March in the former Italian colony.

Between 1,000 and 2,000 students had gathered for the protest. Scarcely had they left the university campus before police and soldiers armed with bayonets and rifles charged into the students. The campus gates were closed, cutting off the students' retreat.

Three miles away, at the Somali conference, the Organisation for African Unity, the Arab League, the Islamic Conference, and other African and Arab organisations joined Dr. Boutros-Ghali in rounding on Somalia's political and clan leaders, declaring that the time had come "to put aside their deadly rivalries".

Their animosities were largely

responsible for the collapse and misery of Somalia, they were reminded. "It follows that those who are the key elements of the problem must be vital elements in the solution," declared Ethiopia's president Meles Zenawi, even though the international community must also prepare itself for a long supporting role.

Dr. Boutros-Ghali envisages that a peace-keeping force of between 15,000 and 20,000 will have to be kept in Somalia for a prolonged period after most of the American forces — which at present make up the bulk of the force — have left.

The US defence secretary, Dick Cheney, said in Washington that the US would withdraw some troops from Somalia this month. But most would remain in place, he said, as the situation was still too dangerous for a takeover by UN peacekeepers.

By the end of the first day's talks in Addis Ababa between the Somali leaders — who were left

alone after the opening session — there had been no walkouts, and it even looked as if they were prepared to continue their talks a day or two beyond their planned conclusion.

Fourteen of Somalia's factions, including the two key figures and arch-rivals General Mohammed Farah Aided and Ali Mahdi Mohammed, are participating in the talks, in which Dr. Boutros-Ghali is playing a delicate mainly backstage role.

President Zenawi admonished the Somali leaders, saying: "There is no lack of agreements and communiqués among you which are invariably breached before the ink dries up."

He added four fundamental points that the Somali leaders must address: ceasefires throughout Somalia, the re-establishment of a neutral police force, the controlled reduction and destruction of arms, and the establishment of a provisional government.

UN negotiates Somali ceasefire

ADDIS ABABA - Somali warlords yesterday agreed to declare an immediate ceasefire and to start disarming their militias of heavy weapons.

A statement issued at the end of United Nations-brokered talks said 15 factions meeting for the past week in the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa also agreed on an agenda for national reconciliation talks starting on March 15.

The statement said the ceasefire and the process of disarming militias would start immediately and would be monitored by a

Sowetan 12/11/93
■ **Warlords agree to disarm their militia before peace talks:**

committee made up of faction representatives and UN military observers.

But delegates to the talks have repeatedly said the warlords do not have firm control over their fighters. They doubt such a sweeping accord can be implemented.

The talks were held against a background of increasingly tough action by an American-led intervention force to strip the country's gunmen of their arms.

Yesterday some 900 US Marines swept through Mogadishu's main market to close down a gun bazaar where weapons from pistols to anti-tank guns were on sale.

The statement said: "A ceasefire monitoring group comprised of United Nations troops shall be established immediately.

"There shall be a liaison group composed of representatives of the warring factions to interlocate with the monitoring group and observe the implementation of

the agreement."

But conference sources said the warlords were deadlocked over who should attend the reconciliation talks, an issue which has dogged the Addis Ababa meeting since it started.

Mogadishu warlord Mohammed Farah Aided wants them to group only the leaders of Somalia's main militias.

But the United Nations and Somali groups want them to include traditional leaders such as elders and political groups.

- *Sapa-Reuter*

Observer 'doctors' costing us millions UN chief

By James Tomlins *Star*
Star Foreign Service 13/1/92

PARIS — UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali says one of his main problems was financing the deployment of UN observers in more than 30 countries, including South Africa.

He told Le Monde in an interview today: "We have sent 100 observers to South Africa and this is costing a lot of money."

"My problem is who will pay for all these requests for UN observers which we receive from all over the world. More than 30 countries want us to supervise their elections. An operation of this kind entails sending 1 000 observers for six to eight months, and this costs millions of dollars."

"During the Cold War, the

United Nations suffered from a lack of credibility. Today, it suffers from an excess of it. Everybody wants UN observers, but unfortunately we cannot avoid the frustration and disappointment of many people."

Explaining the role of UN observers, he said: "They are like doctors who treat an illness. That is their role and they are not there to give an opinion on how the patient became ill."

The secretary-general said he favoured a permanent UN army to be used in "peace operations". France and Scandinavian countries supported this project.

"The UN aims to sign military agreements with 40 countries, enabling us to field 80 000 troops," he said.

Swiss urged to cancel sale of trainer aircraft to SA

STW 15/11/93
BERN — The Swiss authorities are examining a complaint by the United Nations committee on sanctions against South Africa over the proposed sale of 60 Pilatus trainer planes to the South African Air Force, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said in Bern yesterday.

The committee has written urging the Swiss authorities to cancel the sale worth \$140 million (about R420 million), saying it believes the sale transgresses the embargo on arms to Pretoria.

Under Swiss legislation, the PC-7 type aircraft are for training purposes only and are not considered war material.

The Swiss government will discuss the issue shortly.

Previous Swiss sales of the Pilatus plane, notably to Middle East countries, have aroused controversy since they are easily fitted with military accessories like rockets.

The South African Government has declined to comment on press reports regarding the sale. — Sapa-AFP.

336

Unita sets conditions for peace talks

^{57m} LISBON — Unita will not attend peace talks with the Luanda government in Addis Ababa, according to a Unita statement yesterday.

The statement came as fighting raged between Unita and government troops in several regions of Angola.

Earlier yesterday, state radio in Luanda announced that General Higino Carneiro would lead a government team in talks with Unita in

15/11/93.

the Ethiopian capital at the weekend or early next week.

However, the chief UN negotiator in the country, Margaret Anstee, was quoted as saying no talks could be expected this weekend.

In the statement, Unita said that what was needed was not a meeting between military officials from both sides, but one between political leaders.

Unita laid down five condi-

tions for talks.

They were that they should be held "under United Nations mediation", that a UN intervention force should be deployed, that the UN should guarantee the safety of participants, that peace corridors should be set, and that a summit should be organised between Unita leader Jonas Savimbi and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos. — Sapa-AFP.

336

Somalia: US to give reins to UN

MOGADISHU — The United States plans to transfer military control of Somalia to a UN command in as little as two weeks, a US spokesman has revealed.

Marine Colonel Fred Peck stressed that the Security Council had not yet adopted resolutions necessary for the transfer. It also has to decide on a command structure and the rules of engagement, he told a news conference yesterday.

Peck also announced that the Marines will send in its first combat troops — a battalion of 850 — home on Tuesday.

Smooth

"We feel we are rapidly approaching the point where we'll be able to make a very smooth handoff to the UN command that's going to follow us," he said.

"The tough nut is still here in Mogadishu, but the commander of this sector has given himself a goal of trying to achieve relative stability and calm here by the end of the month."

The announcements came on one of the quietest days in Somalia since US troops landed on December 9 to restore order in a nation that has lost 350 000 people to famine, fighting and disease in the last year. An

additional two million people are considered at risk.

In still another indication of improving security, a convoy of 25 trucks carrying nearly 400 tons of food set out for the first time over 640 treacherous kilometres to western Somalia. French troops accompanied the convoy.

"It's much cheaper if we can manage to move food by road on a regular basis," said Brenda Barton, spokeswoman for the World Food Programme. "That means we're going to be able to gradually wind down the airlift operation."

Mohamed Farah Aidid, one of Somalia's most powerful warlords, predicted a three-day-old ceasefire among the country's warring factions would hold.

Aidid was returning from Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, where the agreement was signed by 14 factions on Friday.

His heavy weapons and those of main rivals, have already been confined to special camps in terms of the agreement.

There are now some 25 000 American military personnel in the country plus an additional 11 000 soldiers from 20 countries rounding out the international force. — Sapa-AP.

UN evacuating Angola peace monitors

STAR 18/11/93.

336

M'BANZA CONGO (Angola) — The United Nations is intensifying its evacuation of peace monitors from provincial outposts as the government and Unita rebels continue to battle over three key Angolan cities.

Diplomats said the possibility of peace talks planned for Addis Adaba this weekend had faded following the government's re-

jection of conditions by Unita.

UN officials said the government was trying to win control of southern Menongue and was pounding with artillery and air might Huambo, Unita's headquarters in the central highlands.

The officials said more than half of the organisation's 59 provincial outposts — normally

staffed by two or three people — had been closed.

There was an exchange of fire on Saturday in M'Banza Congo, near the north-western border with Zaire.

Some military experts believe Unita has 30 000 to 50 000 men and enough stockpiled weapons to fight another six to eight months. — Sapa-Reuter.

Recognition for the indigenous peoples

Sowetan 18/1/93

By Ruth Bhengu

■ GLOBAL EVENT More than 300-m

people, from 70 countries, to be honoured:

THE INTERNATIONAL community has finally woken up to the fact that indigenous peoples have something worthwhile to offer the world.

The result is 1993 has been declared the International Year for the World's Indigenous People.

The United Nations General Assembly - which launched this event in New York on Human Rights Day, 10 December last year - is hoping to focus the attention of the international community on "one of the planet's most neglected and vulnerable groups of people" as the UN co-ordinator for the year, Mr Antoine Blanca, puts it.

The UN defines indigenous peoples as "descendants of the original inhabitants of many lands, strikingly diverse in their cultures, religions and patterns of social and economic organisation".

Indigenous people include Australia's Aborigines, Africans, the native Americans (known by the derogatory term of Red Indians), the Bontoc in the Philippines, the Karen in Thailand, the Saami in Finland, the Aymara in Bo-

livia, and the Khoi Khoi and San people in Southern Africa.

Many events and activities are being held internationally to celebrate the Year of the World's Indigenous Peoples.

These include the International Day of Solidarity With The Struggling People of South Africa on June 16, The International Day of Solidarity with The Struggling Women of South Africa on August 9 and the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners on October 11.

Ironically, South Africans are not

even aware of these forthcoming events.

A snap survey among community workers to find what activities were planned drew a blank. None of the leaders interviewed were even aware of the Year of the World's Indigenous People.

An estimated 300 million indigenous people live in more than 70 countries, from the Arctic regions to the Amazon and Australia.

Today indigenous peoples are among the most disadvantaged groups on earth.

Aborigines

The Sowetan will be running a series of articles on the Aboriginal people of Australia in keeping with the International Year for the World's Indigenous People.

Senior reporter Ruth Bhengu, who has just returned from a two-month stay in Australia where she travelled through five states

including Western Australia, The Northern Territory Outback, South Australia, Queensland and North South Wales, spoke to Aborigines from different walks of life about various aspects of their lives.

The story of the Aborigines is the first in a series of articles about the indigenous peoples of the world.

Former leaders to see FW

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk will on Friday meet seven former heads of state attending the Inter-Action Council's "Africa summit". *31 DAY 19/1/93*

The group, headed by former British prime minister Lord Callaghan, will also meet ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi during their three-day meeting in Cape Town this week.

Council co-ordinator Dr Hans d'Orville said the group had hoped to meet ANC president Nelson Mandela, who is attending this week's inauguration of US President-elect Bill Clinton in Washington.

Callaghan is accompanied by Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo (Portugal), Gen Olusegun Obasanjo (Nigeria), Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia), Daniel Lisulo (Zambia), Kamal Hassan Ali (Egypt) and Malcolm Fraser (Australia).

The 36-member Inter-Action Council was established in 1983 to harness the skills and experience of former statesmen to address international political and economic problems.

This week's meeting, from Thursday to Saturday at the National Gallery, will focus on strategies to counteract the political and economic marginalisation of Africa.

Meanwhile, OAU observer team head, secretary-general and Botswana ambassador to the UN Legwaila J M Legwaila

visited Transkei yesterday.

Legwaila met Transkei military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa and Transkei government officials on the political situation in SA. *(336)*

Holomisa said the deployment of UN armed forces in SA was long overdue. He called for tough timeframes for SA's transition to democracy, saying these should be binding on "white South Africa" and enforceable by the UN Security Council.

This was the only way to allay black fears of possible backtracking by the NP government, he said.

International observers had been rendered "toothless and ineffective in curbing violence" by the watering down of the OAU's resolutions, Holomisa said.

He questioned why the international community "allows itself to be seen as a paper tiger by SA blacks when it acts swiftly and decisively against leaders and countries viewed as threats to Western national interests".

Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga on Monday called on SA liberation movements to revive the patriotic front and approach negotiations as one.

Africa could not accept the division of "democratic forces", he said.

Mwaanga met PAC president Clarence Makwetu in Johannesburg yesterday.

Mwaanga said he would meet Mandela before travelling to Namibia. — Sapa.

Mandela and police hold frank talks

BILLY PADDOCK

ANC president Nelson Mandela met senior officers of the SAP and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel on Saturday to discuss force attitudes that needed to change in a new SA, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

He said it was an informal meeting to discuss a wide array of topics, with combating of violence being the major focus.

The meeting, at the request of Kriel, was apparently very frank. Mandela was accompanied by MK chief Joe Modise and national executive member Joe Nlanhla. *8/0/93*

According to Niehaus the discussion centred on trying to improve the understanding between the police and the ANC. *19/1/93*

"Mandela discussed the changing situation in SA and the attitude changes that will have to come on the part of the police to win the trust of the whole community in their ability and will to do their job," he said.

Both sides discussed the problems they had with each other, with Kriel expressing concern over the number of violent incidents in which the ANC was involved. In response the ANC expressed its concern at police methods of combating violence and crime.

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



rate still

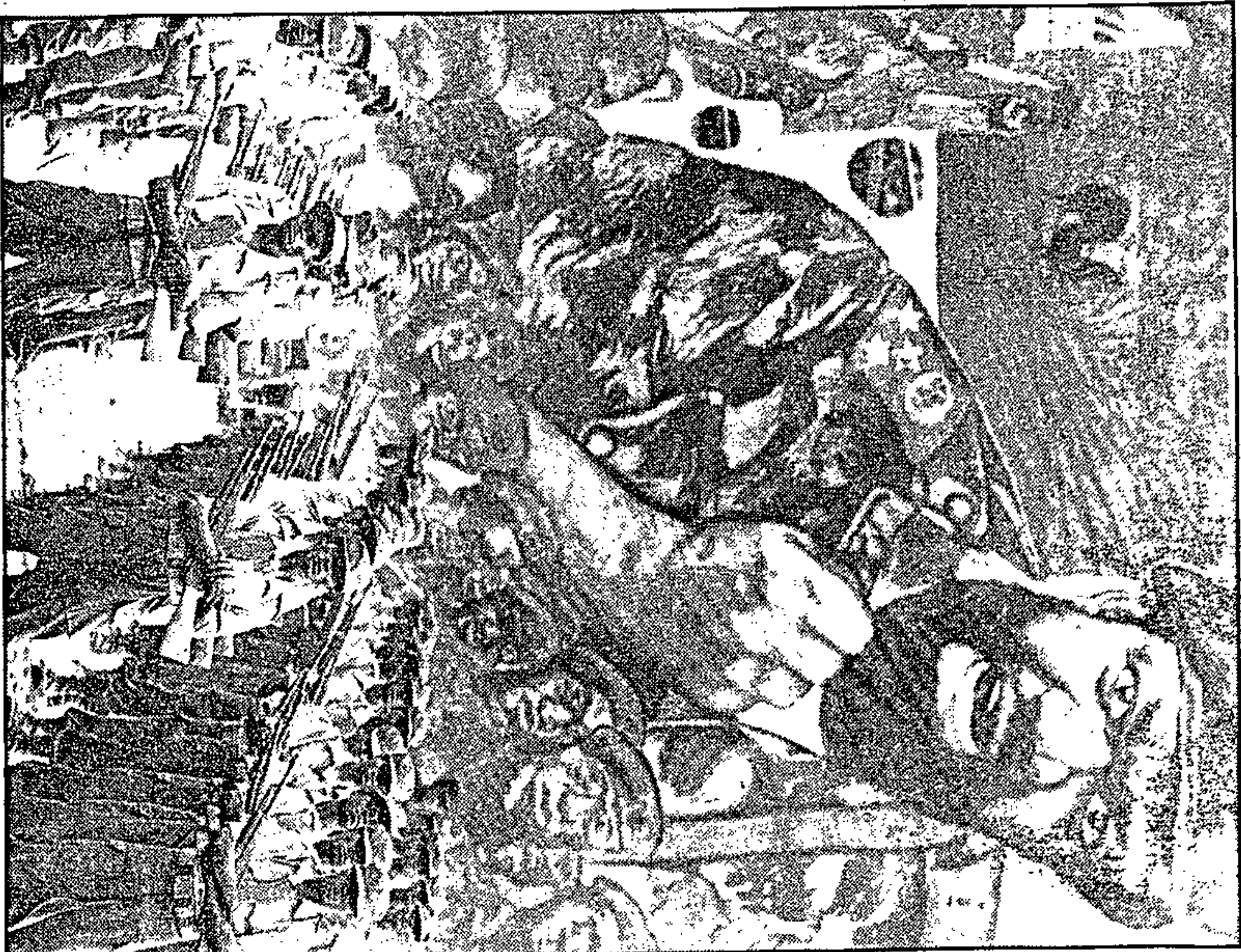
UN forces in SA 'overdue' 336

JOHANNESBURG. — The deployment of UN armed forces in South Africa was long overdue, Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa said yesterday.

Speaking during a visit to the Transkei by OAU secretary-general Mr Legwaila Legwaila, he called for tough time-frames for South Africa's transition to democracy and said these should be binding on "white South Africa" and enforceable by the UN Security Council. — Sapa

ET 19/1/93

Savimbi agrees to UN peace parley



BUSH PARADE: Unita soldiers take part in a 1984 rally in front of a huge poster of Jonas Savimbi at the rebel movement's old Jamba headquarters. Unita is reported to have agreed to peace talks with the MPLA government.

LUANDA — Unita leader Jonas Savimbi has agreed to United Nations-brokered peace talks with the Angolan government next week, but violence continued throughout the war-torn country yesterday.

The announcement of the talks came at the end of a sobering week for the government during which rebel forces defeated government troops in a key northern oil town and threatened to overrun the oil-rich Cabinda enclave as well as diamond mines in north-eastern Angola.

A UN official in the Angolan capital, speaking on condition of anonymity, said Savimbi said he would send representatives to the talks next week in the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa.

A specific date has yet to be set for the talks to end the fighting that broke out on October 31 after Unita lost parliamentary and presidential elections to the ruling MPLA party. Savimbi claimed the country's first multiparty elections were rigged, although UN observers called them generally free and fair.

Merchants attacked

In Luanda, armed mobs attacked merchants believed to be from neighbouring Zaïre in several city markets, apparently in response to government reports that Zairean troops were fighting alongside Unita rebels in northern Angola.

Personnel at several Luanda hospitals said at least 10 people had been killed in the attacks and many more were injured. It was not possible to confirm these figures with police or city officials.

Angolan national radio said yesterday Unita troops were gathering in Caxito, some 60 km northeast of Luanda, and government troops were bracing for an attack.

At the UN headquarters in New York, spokesman Joe Sills, said UN special representative Margaret Anstee had confirmed that a "ceasefire in principle" had been agreed to by the government and Unita.

Minutes before leaving for New York, Anstee told reporters there was no confirmed date for the talks but said she was ready to go to Addis Ababa "at any moment".

Anstee was to meet in New York with secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali and members of the UN Security Council to discuss extension of the UN mandate in Angola that is due to expire on January 31. — Sapa-AP.

UN 'double standards' charge

BLOOM 27/11/73
JERUSALEM — Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin on Monday accused UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali of turning a blind eye to the "terrorism" of Islamic fundamentalists.

His comments followed Boutros-Ghali's call on the UN Security Council to take "whatever measures are required" to ensure that about 400 Palestinians deported to southern Lebanon are returned home.

Boutros-Ghali "is turning a blind eye to extremist Muslim terrorism," Rabin charged on radio.

The UN chief's report to the Security Council "does not take into account the aim of terrorism, which is to put an end to the peace process. That is an example of double standards," Rabin said.

"The Security Council is making almost unprecedented demands on

Israel," Rabin said. "On one hand we are asked to continue the peace process despite terrorism, something we are ready to do, while on the other our measures to eliminate terrorism and the most extremist elements are presented as an obstacle to peace."

Israel deported the Palestinians on December 17 after accusing them of having links to radical groups.

The US ambassador assured Israelis that President Bill Clinton was "most unlikely" to allow UN sanctions forcing Israel to repatriate the Palestinians.

An interview with ambassador William Harrop was aired by army radio yesterday after Boutros-Ghali recommended the Security Council take "whatever measures are required" to force Israel to comply with a resolution demanding the return of the deportees.

(336)
"I think it is most unlikely that the US would want to see sanctions against Israel but we have not used our veto for two years," Harrop said.

Israeli officials have expressed confidence Washington will use its veto to block any attempt to impose sanctions to enforce Israel's compliance with Resolution 799.

Israeli UN envoy Gad Yaccobi, calling Boutros-Ghali's report unjust, told Israel Radio the Security Council could meet as early as today to consider its next step.

Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres said he regretted Boutros-Ghali acted before the Israeli High Court made its ruling on the legality of the deportations. The court, which has rarely differed with Israeli governments on security issues, allowed the deportations to proceed in December. — Sapa-AFP-Reuter.

NOT SINCE the first postwar years has the prestige of the UN stood so high in the Western world. When great powers wish to take military action they now justify it by reference to UN Security Council resolutions. When they wish not to take military action, the absence of such resolutions is the first argument they use. When defining the role of their armed forces, Western leaders put peacekeeping high on the list of tasks, and refer to the "primacy" or the "invaluable experience" of the UN in this field.

When they seek a political solution to regional conflicts, they almost instinctively write in a UN role. Some even refer cautiously to the possibility of placing recalcitrant countries such as Bosnia and Somalia under long-term UN administration.

Such expectations and demands have thrust the UN into the limelight, but are also subjecting it to enormous strain. So much so that senior figures in the UN secretariat are beginning to wonder if it is up to the job. That implies a criticism directed partly at themselves and the bureaucracy they run, but partly at the Security Council and its permanent members, from whom most of the demands come. A running theme of such criticism is that the member states are not giving the UN the resources — financial and human — to do the job required of it.

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has been struggling with these problems since he took over a year ago. He began by restructuring the secretariat, drastically reducing the number of under-secretary-generals (USGs) and regrouping its activities in large departments, each headed by a USG answerable to him. Four of these departments are directly concerned with the security issues which the Western world, at least, regards as the UN's main responsibility.

Jan Eliasson, a Swedish diplomat who worked closely with the late Olof Palme, notably in his efforts to end the Iran-Iraq war, deals with humanitarian affairs. Marrack Gouding, formerly British ambassador in Angola, holds the peacekeeping portfolio. Preventive diplomacy and "peacemaking" are shared, on a regional basis, between James Jonah

Enhanced role makes UN a victim of its own success

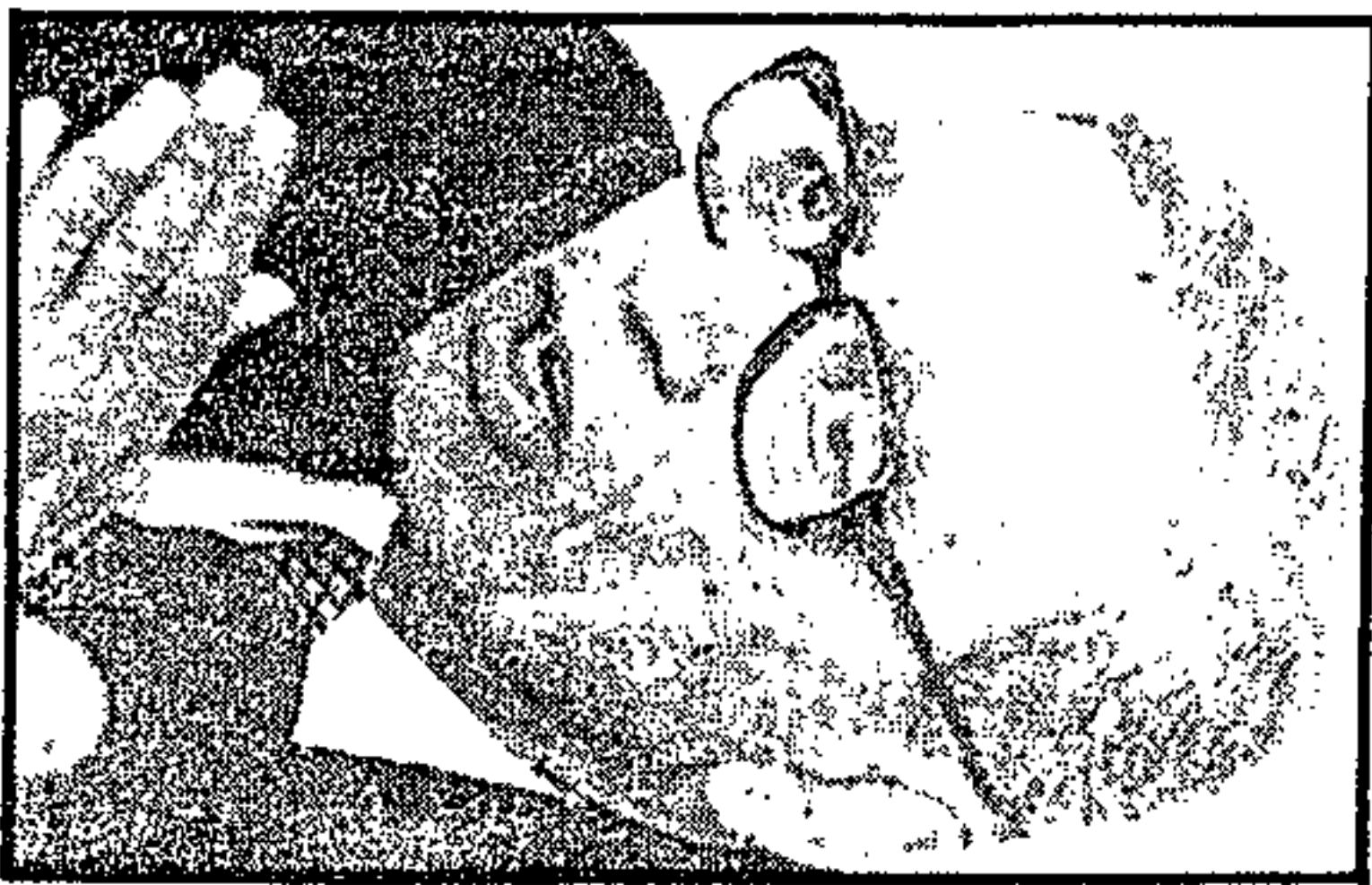
By *Edward Mortimer* 28/1/93. (336)

of Sierra Leone, an old UN hand who deals with Africa and the Middle East, and Vladimir Petrovsky, once (as Soviet deputy foreign minister) the main articulator of Mikhail Gorbachev's vision for the UN and now the UN's own top diplomat for Europe, Asia and the Americas.

All four are heavily overworked, partly because on any issue of importance Boutros-Ghali insists on dealing with them personally rather than with their subordinates. But probably the greatest burden falls on Gouding. Peacekeeping, a concept not mentioned in the UN charter, and indeed largely invented by the UN during the Cold War, has now become raggingly fashionable.

The essence of it is that small, lightly armed military forces are interposed between the combatants in a war, with the consent of both parties, as part of a ceasefire agreement: a confidence-building measure, enabling each side to feel confident that the other will not launch a surprise attack.

So great has been the demand for peacekeeping forces that the number under Gouding's command quadrupled last year; these forces now number close to 60 000. But his own administrative staff at UN headquarters has increased from 10 to only 15. They are at once gratified and embarrassed by their inability to match the large teams of staff officers sent to talk to them from much larger military bureaucracies, such as Nato and the Pentagon, which are now keen to get in on the



□ BOUTROS-GHALI

peacekeeping business.

The US has offered Gouding various forms of electronic hardware — "real-time" communications systems, for instance, and a 24-hour operations room — which he has so far hesitated to accept, apparently doubting whether he and his staff have the capacity to manage such sophisticated machinery. Meanwhile, he works a 14- or 15-hour day, seven days a week, and is visibly wilting under the strain. Out of five important UN oper-

ations in 1992, four — in Angola, Cambodia, Somalia and the former Yugoslavia — have either failed or are in serious trouble, not mainly through technical failures by the peacekeepers but because of unresolved political problems. Even the one success story, in El Salvador, now seems threatened by the refusal of President Alfredo Cristiani to dismiss some officers, including his defence minister, who have been identified as responsible for atrocities.

Part of the trouble, it seems, is lack of effective liaison between departments. In Bosnia and Somalia the UN's objectives have been defined as humanitarian, yet because the military forces are involved the main organisational load falls on Gouding's department. In Angola and Cambodia the political agreements on which the operation is based are falling apart; one might think it was the job of Jonah and Petrovsky to prevent this happening, but their departments do not seem to have been sufficiently involved.

Boutros-Ghali is believed to be unhappy about the way things are working, and may soon attempt a further reorganisation. He has certainly ruffled feathers in the secretariat by saying repeatedly that until he came to New York he imagined his own country, Egypt, had the worst bureaucracy in the world, but now he knows the UN is even worse.

Yet he would be the last to suggest that the UN's problems are purely organisational. In his Agenda for Peace report, published last June, he

showed himself aware that there were situations in which traditional peacekeeping is not enough, and suggested the creation of "peace-enforcement units", more heavily armed than traditional peacekeepers and authorised to use force in cases where "ceasefires have... been agreed but not complied with".

Last September, in his first annual report to the General Assembly, he highlighted the problems that arise when peacekeeping forces have to deal with "non-governmental entities or irregular groups" whose shadowy leaders may sign agreements but either cannot or will not impose compliance on followers.

As the UN is drawn into more and more internal conflicts within member states, these problems are multiplying. Events in Bosnia and Somalia, especially, have blurred the distinction between peacekeeping and enforcement, between humanitarian assistance and military confrontation. In a different way the same has happened in Iraq.

Talking to senior UN officials about Saddam Hussein, or about Somali or Bosnian Serbian warlords, one can sense they are uncertain whether to adopt the tone of an affronted authority thumping the table, or that of a patient and neutral "honest broker". The latter pose is one many of them instinctively adopt, having learnt it during the long years of the Cold War when neutrality was the only attitude that allowed the UN any role at all. But arguably the former is more in keeping with the charter, and more appropriate to the role the UN is coming to play in the new world order.

To play that role effectively, the UN needs expanded resources, a more radically restructured organisation, and above all perhaps a clearer definition of its various tasks and how they relate to each other. In all three areas the new US administration, which has advertised its enthusiasm for the UN, should have an important contribution to make.

The challenge to President Bill Clinton, and to his UN ambassador Madeleine Albright, is to find a way of doing that without reinforcing the already widespread view among non-Western member states, and among their nationals in the secretariat, that the Western powers have turned the UN into nothing more than an instrument of their own political whims. — Financial Times.

High Court upholds Palestinian expulsion

81004 29/1/93
JERUSALEM — Israel's High Court yesterday upheld the government's expulsion of 415 Palestinians to Lebanon, putting Israel on a collision course with the UN.

The decision, exactly six weeks after the men were driven across the border and dumped in no-man's land, reinforced the government in its refusal to obey a UN Security Council resolution demanding it let the men return home.

"The court in its ruling today approved retroactively the legality of the government's decision," said Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's office.

Israel's UN ambassador Gad Yaacobi said the US was working to prevent the Security Council imposing sanctions to make Israel reverse the expulsions.

Human rights lawyers had applied to the court to annul the expulsions.

The ruling, by the seven judges who allowed the expulsions to go ahead on December 17, was condemned by Arabs.

Rabin said he was satisfied.

The remaining 396 deportees received the news in rain and biting cold at their camp between Lebanese and Israeli army lines in south Lebanon. Nineteen of them have left the camp, either for medical treatment or because Israel expelled them by mistake and has let them back.

336
Lawyer Leah Tsemel called the decision a "catastrophe" that could be used to justify mass expulsions, a crime under international law.

The court ruled that each deportee could be present at an appeal against his expulsion but did not say where this should take place. "The absence of prior appeal is not in itself a reason to annul the individual deportation orders," said the ruling.

Rabin had said the 415 men had links with militant Islamic groups that killed five Israeli soldiers. However, none had been charged with a crime.

Deportee leader Abdul Aziz al-Rantisi said Israel would regret the day of the verdict.

The future of the peace talks remains in doubt because the Palestinians refuse to take part until the deportees return home.

Lebanese Foreign Minister Faris Bouez said the court action "does not facilitate or even support the continuation of the peace talks".

In Tunis, the PLO called for an urgent Security Council meeting to impose sanctions on Israel.

Rabin had tried to delay a Security Council meeting until after the court ruling. On Wednesday he predicted US President Bill Clinton would block any sanctions against Israel. — Sapa-Reuter.

Peace secretariat image 'could suffer'

B/D Am 29/1/93

(336)

RAY HARTLEY

FINANCIAL control exercised over the national peace secretariat by the Justice Department was negatively affecting perceptions of its independence, leading peace accord and UN officials have said.

National peace committee chairman John Hall said yesterday there was "a lot of merit" in the secretariat being independent and reporting to the State President.

"It is clear that the national peace secretariat being financed by and reporting to the Department of Justice does raise questions," he said.

Hall's statement followed a speech by UN observer mission chief Angela King in which she said that the secretariat needed to be removed from Justice, which also administered the NIS.

UN observer mission spokesman Kevin Kennedy said the fact that Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee was also responsible for the NIS led to a "perceived conflict of interests". He said the Goldstone commission's witness protection programme could suffer from negative perceptions if potential witnesses realised the programme was be-

ing funded by those who also administered the NIS.

"Who knows if there is a real conflict of interests, but there certainly is a perceived conflict," he said.

King had already made representations to government and the peace secretariat on the matter, he said.

A spokesman for the President's office said no statement would be made on the issue by De Klerk before the opening of Parliament. It is believed De Klerk may address the future of the secretariat in his opening speech.

King made her remark in response to a question after an address to the SA Institute of International Affairs on Wednesday night. In her speech she described the national peace accord as "that truly unique experiment created by the political parties and entities and government to resolve disputes peacefully".

"A special relationship has developed between the Goldstone commission and the international observers, including the UN observer mission in SA," she said.

HRC warns of township violence

POLICE and unrest monitors needed to prepare themselves for a possible eruption of violence in the strife-torn townships of Thokoza on the East Rand and Ratanda in Heidelberg this weekend, the Human Rights Commission (HRC) said yesterday.

National director Safoora Sadek said her organisation had received reports that residents of the townships were preparing to take the law into their own hands to "defend themselves" against killings by a gang in the area.

The funeral of ANC activist Lucky Mampuru, which was scheduled for Ratanda tomorrow, could become the focal point of renewed violence, she said.

Police spokesman Capt Nina Barkhuizen said both townships could expect a heightened police presence over the weekend and additional forces would be mobilised to maintain security at the funeral.

Barkhuizen said police had no specific evidence violence would erupt, but both

RAY HARTLEY

areas remained major trouble spots.

The HRC had appealed to international monitors to be present at Mampuru's funeral to reduce the likelihood of violence, Sadek said.

The HRC said the PWV had experienced its bloodiest week since November last year in the week ending January 26.

The HRC's latest weekly repression report said 23 people died in the PWV in the week ending on January 26, two more than died in Natal in the same period.

A total of 52 people died countrywide during the week — including seven commuters. Three commuter deaths in Natal, which has been relatively untouched by train violence, were "of great concern", the HRC said.

Meanwhile, Soweto police said they had confiscated 14 firearms and arrested 15 people at hostels in the Meadowlands area yesterday.

WHO head re-elected despite opposition

Guardian/W in W/Mail

By John Parry in Geneva

29/11-4/12/93

336

HIROSHI NAKAJIMA of Japan has been elected to a second five-year term as head of the World Health Organization (WHO) despite a fierce US and European campaign to unseat him.

The WHO's executive board voted 18 to 13 to reconfirm Nakajima in his job over the American and European candidate, Algerian neurologist Mohammed Abdulmoumene. Abdulmoumene, 52, was Nakajima's deputy until last summer when he was fired, reportedly for declaring his interest in the top job.

The United States and its allies waged a long and public campaign against Nakajima. They claimed the 64-year-old chemist has mismanaged the UN agency, which has a budget of \$850 million a year, engaged in nepotism and created a personality cult.

Japan, which fought to keep its man in office, countered by accusing Washington of mounting a disinformation campaign based on little more than animosity against Nakajima by some officials of the Department of Health and Human Services. Dr Jonathan Mann, the high-profile American who quit as head of WHO's Aids program in 1990 in a public fight with Nakajima, is accused privately by Japanese officials of

being behind the U.S. position.

National pride is also believed to be involved on the Japanese side. Nakajima was the first Japanese elected — rather than appointed — to head a UN agency. His widely respected counterpart at the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Sadako Ogata, is a political appointee.

The WHO battle developed last fall and turned what would have been a routine rolling over of the top job into a highly publicized dogfight. The United States and Japan, the two largest contributors to WHO's budget, both denied through their officials here that they would cut their share if their candidate lost.

Cash-strapped Kenya asks

Guatemala

KENYA has asked the United Nations to help send half a million refugees back to neighbouring countries because of banditry and the strain on the country's resources, *writes our Foreign Staff*. The move, which could dramatically worsen the refugee crisis in the Horn of Africa, also appeared to be intended to increase pressure on Western donors to restore aid to Kenya, whose president, Daniel arap Moi, was re-elected last month. "The number of refugees in Kenya from Somalia, Ethiopia, and Sudan has not only seriously compromised the security of this country but greatly outstretched the infrastructure and medical services," a government statement said. The international aid operation in Somalia has caused an upsurge

in murder and looting in refugee camps inside Kenya by armed bandits seeking to avoid the sweep of US-led forces, a UN official said earlier in Geneva. Sylvia Foa, spokeswoman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, said the degenerating security situation had forced a halt to the UN repatriation effort and led to serious food shortages in the four main border camps. Ms Foa said lorry drivers were too frightened to drive convoys into the Kenyan camps and food supplies were running "very, very short". The poor security situation added to the problems of the rainy season and muddy roads, she added. Three Canadian planes would begin an airlift of food into the camps starting immediately. Some

UN to send home refugees

29/1-4/2/93

25,000 American troops and 11,000 soldiers from other countries are taking part in the effort to ensure that aid supplies get past armed factions in control of the country and reach the Somali starving. Ms Foa said that UNHCR had halted its repatriation operation even though it knew of at least 15,000 Somalis who wanted to return from Kenya. The refugee agency has so far helped 4,000 people return. The four biggest camps along the Somali border house about 160,000 Somalis. The camps are open, allowing refugees to gather wood and water, but also making it easy for gunmen to enter unnoticed. The Kenyan statement was the president's first major policy change since returning to power.

President Moi said last year that Kenya would do what it could for refugees from its less fortunate neighbours, but has complained of the cost because Western states suspended aid worth \$40 million monthly to his country in 1991. The balance of payments support was withheld to force Mr Moi into holding multi-party polls and overhauling the economy and there is little sign it will be reinstated because of Kenya's failure to achieve key economic targets, according to diplomats. There is widespread resentment at the number of Somalis in Kenyan towns and at the fact that Somali refugees get food aid while Kenyans have to cope with soaring food prices because of recurrent drought.

UN ban is anachronistic - but it works

236

1/21/93

THE composition of the United Nations Security Council is anachronistic. Crudely put, that is the accusation levelled both by the new European Commissioner for External Affairs, Hans van den Broek, and the even newer US Secretary of State, Warren Christopher.

Both believe Germany and Japan could or should, on the basis of their economic and political weight, join the United States, Russia, China, Britain and France as permanent members of the 15-member council.

This view is widely (though far from generally) shared in Japan and Germany, which are respectively the second and

third largest contributors to UN funds.

There is further pressure for change from within the European Community, with Italy, Spain and the Benelux countries favouring some form of collective EC representation.

Large Third World countries such as India, Brazil, Nigeria and Indonesia argue that the northern hemisphere is grossly over-represented on the decision-taking body of a supposedly universal organisation.

Under existing rules, they can only become one of the 10 rotating members of the council for two years at a time. Unlike the permanent five, rotating members have no right of

Moves to allow Germany and Japan into the Security Council sound logical but may not be in the world's best interests.

veto.

The validity of these arguments cannot be weighed without going back to the UN's origins. It was created by the powers deemed to have been victorious in World War 2, with China eventually replacing Chiang Kai-shek's regime in Taiwan. Its charter speaks unequivocally of "enemy states", meaning Japan and Germany.

The Security Council itself was intended to be able to intervene in the name of peace, using the forces of its member

states. The constitutions of the two "enemy states", largely devised by the Allies, specifically excluded the use of their armed forces except for self-defence.

In both Germany and Japan, constitutional changes to permit participation in peace-making as well as peacekeeping operations are being fiercely debated. But even if these arguments are resolved, historical factors are likely to exclude the Germans from the Middle East and the Balkans, and the Japanese from much of Asia.

The British and French are in just the opposite situation.

Their relative economic and political weight has dropped. But thanks to their histories as imperial powers, they have continued to conduct more or less global foreign policies.

Alone in Western Europe, they have both the ability and the political will to deploy significant forces across the world in support of UN resolutions.

Hence the comment this week by British Prime Minister John Major, when asked about possible changes: that he would not like anything done that would make the Security Council less effective, and the reminder from Douglas Hurd, the

British Foreign Secretary, of Britain's historic links around the world and its wish to go on playing a worthy part in averting a slide into international disorder.

On any realistic calculation, there is much to be said for the existing division of labour, with Germany and Japan acting primarily as providers of funds. Any significant changes are likely to open a Pandora's box of conflicting demands.

What looks like an indefensible anachronism may, on closer inspection, represent the best hope of the UN being an effective force for world peace. The Independent News Service. □

Star 11/2/93

Peace plan behind schedule

Star Africa Service

MAPUTO — Key elements of the Mozambican peace process have begun falling into place but it is still several months behind schedule.

A start is expected soon, however, on one of the most urgent tasks: neutralising the more than 2 000 000 landmines that are estimated to be strewn around the country.

UN special representative Aldo Ajello said over the weekend that the first of the 49 assembly points from which Frelimo and Renamo troops will be demobilised should be opened this month.

The first 12 assembly points have been surveyed but cannot

yet be opened because only 14 of the 354 UN observers have arrived in the country.

The R72 million UN programme for the lifting of the landmines envisages a force of 1 200 specially trained men to neutralise the mines left over from both the civil war and the war against Portuguese colonialism.

There are no maps showing the location of the Portuguese minefields and inadequate maps for the others.

The UN programme will not begin until April, but before then a force assembled by the British company, Lonrho, will start lifting mines along main roads to allow Red Cross relief convoys to get to famine-stricken areas.

AIDS cases soaring — govt

MARIANNE MERTEN

AT LEAST one out of 10 South Africans were infected by the AIDS virus, National Health AIDS directorate head Natalie Stockton said yesterday.

She appealed for solidarity between government and non-governmental organisations dealing with AIDS.

There were 1 500 known AIDS sufferers in SA. A further 250 000 to 300 000 were infected with the virus and this figure was increasing daily by about 400, National Health figures indicated.

AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power Warrick Allan said government's inaction and indifference had contributed to the large pool of infected people. It was only in 1991 that government initiated a mass HIV information campaign, but by then prejudice was deeply entrenched.

"The SA public has failed to grasp the enormity of the endemic," he said. This year's Budget set aside only R21m for AIDS, none of which went towards specialised care for AIDS sufferers.

Muse International hoped to establish community support and care centres in rural areas.

● See Page 10

SA should empower UN monitors to stop carnage

DURBAN — The UN mission monitoring violence in SA must be given a strong mandate to intervene in a meaningful way to stop the carnage, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) general secretary Enzo Friso said yesterday.

He told a media conference that in spite of the belief abroad that President F W de Klerk was a democrat "his government continues directly and indirectly to perpetuate violence".

Friso claimed "security forces were exploiting political differences to destabilise democratic forces in the black community".

An ICFTU delegation visited the main flashpoints of violence in Soweto, Cape Town and Durban.

Friso slated government and homeland leaders for their "direct and indirect

Own Correspondent

involvement in the ongoing carnage in SA" and "exploiting the situation in a bid to weaken the trade union movement".

Sapa reports that a delegation from three Dutch police unions had been refused visas to visit SA to research patterns of violence at a township near Johannesburg, according to the Foundation of Middle and High-ranking Policemen (VMHP).

VMHP executive member Gert van Beek said in Amsterdam the delegation was also hoping to investigate the manner in which complaints about violence were handled. "In this way the unions wanted to contribute to the debate about violence and violence control in SA."

● See Page 12

Union leader wants UN to stop carnage

CT4/2/93

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The United Nations mission monitoring violence in South Africa must be given a strong mandate to intervene in a meaningful way to stop the carnage.

This was said by Mr Enzo Friso, general secretary of the 113 million-strong International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) at a press conference here yesterday.

Mr Friso said that in spite of the belief abroad that President F W De Klerk was a democrat, "his government continues directly and indirectly to perpetuate violence". ICFTU represents 164 trade union federations from 117 countries.

Mr Friso said the ICFTU's Co-ordinating Committee on Southern Africa was to meet today for the first time inside South Africa.

More peace politicking

Violence can be curtailed to allow free and fair elections in South Africa, but there are a number of preconditions. Politicians, among others, must do more to bring about peace. The sooner ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi meet, the better. These are the views of Angela King, leader of the United Nations team of observers in SA. Our special correspondent reports.

ANGELA KING, 54, hails from Jamaica, loves classical music and has seen much of the world and its problems in the course of United Nations work.

This is her message to South Africans: "Think continuously about the future of your country. Not only about today and about the violence, but what the country will look like within a year and a generation ahead."

"All South Africans must become actively involved in the peace process and they should not be critical about it. Peace is as strong as the number and the dedication of the people who participate in it."

"Every person in the country - man, woman and child - must make a commitment to do or say something every day which will promote the peace process. They must also show respect and tolerance towards other people. South Africans must be proud of their country. It is their country."

Critical *CP 7/12/93*

With reference to the violence, King said the situation in the country is very critical.

"When I arrived in the country three months ago we found a distinction between criminal violence and political violence. We find it to be rather confusing."

"At times it is very difficult to distinguish. However, the level of violence in the country is very high."

"A culture of violence has developed here which must be stopped. The authorities should follow a stronger policy to persecute criminals. Many cases remain pending. I think it is very important that this should be done."

"I was rather concerned to learn that 7 500 criminals will be released within the following months. Should they be political prisoners or not, it appears to me that the influx of such large numbers must have an influence on society, especially because there is no work for them."

King, who, among other things, studied sociology, says politicians should do more to ensure peace. They must use every possible opportunity to promote the peace process as a means to ensure an effective transition to a united, democratic SA.

"They should stop their posturing and not entice other politicians to do the same in the process. They should talk to each other and must be seen doing that. At times they must also admit that there are differences, but that they are working on it."

"We are very concerned because Mandela and Buthelezi don't meet to talk about peace. The UN secretary general, Boutros



SOULS ON FIRE ... SA's legacy of bloodshed must stop - now.

Boutros-Ghali, personally wrote to the two leaders. Special envoys met with both of them and accentuated the importance of a meeting between them.

"Nobody in the international community thinks that a single meeting can solve the problems, but it would be very meaningful. It would be very symbolic should they meet. This would be the starting point from where other efforts could flow, she said."

"Violence can definitely be curtailed to such an extent that free and fair elections can take place."

"There are a number of preconditions. The leaders of political parties must not only show political tolerance by their actions, but they must also propagate it. They must go to people at grassroots level and prove they mean it."

"I repeatedly hear 'Why should I join the

peace structures? Look at the look what they are doing.'

"People want to see examples. That's important, especially to the country."

What must be done to curtail

"The government must take action and implement some of the made, for example the dangerous weapons. It still has to

ticking is needed

UN's King warns on culture of violence

refused to sign the Peace Accord and remained at a distance and criticised it, had to be drawn in.

"All parties demanding a share in the future of SA must participate in it, even though they have not signed the accord.

"I specifically appeal to the leaders of Transkei, the PAC, Azapo, the CP and others. I think it is very important that they should do that, or they will run the risk of being marginalised."

There is still the top-to-bottom idea going around, where peace is being perceived as something which is coming from the top rather than from the bottom. There are people at the grassroots level who care very much about peace and the future of their children, but they don't yet feel completely involved in the peace process.

Apartheid

What are the causes of the violence?

"Much of the violence derives from the heritage of apartheid. Apart from that there is political intolerance and inter-party violence, not only between different parties, but also in the homelands, in Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu. There is an unwillingness to allow free political expression.

"There is a whole culture of political intolerance which the National Peace Secretariate wants to change.

"Furthermore, the economic situation in the country is a great cause of violence. People don't have housing, free access to work, education and training. They see others who have these opportunities. It causes unhappiness and jealousy. Then there are also the numerous weapons which are available. For one or other reason the government is reluctant to implement the proclamation against dangerous weapons.

"I realise this is a complex matter, but since Cyrus Vance was here, it was agreed that it must be done. There are also armed formations to the left and to the right and the numerous security companies. Weapons are freely available. People own four or five firearms. There is also the political uncertainty during the transitional period in the move to the new South Africa. The uncertainty gives cause to violence."

■ At the moment there are 50 UN observers and a number of administrative personnel in SA. About 10 more observers are expected here. They will come from 36 different countries and 46 percent are women.



to peace structures? Look at the signatories, look what they are doing.

"People want to see examples. This is very important, especially to the leadership in the country."

What must be done to curtail violence?

"The government must take stronger action and implement some of the promises made, for example the proclamation on dangerous weapons. It still has to limit and

control the thug elements within the SADF and the police. I believe action is being taken, but more should be done.

"Other political bodies with formations must also try to control these elements. They must come forward and say they are opposed to all forms of political violence, or any group being targeted.

King says the peace structures should play a larger role. Certain elements who

UN leader in plea to all parties to sign peace accord

Political Staff

THE leader of the United Nations observer team in South Africa, Ms Angela King, says a major step towards solving the violence is for all parties "demanding a share in the future" to sign the National Peace Accord.

In a report on the violence, Ms King said elements that refused to sign the Peace Accord, and remained at a distance, had to be drawn in.

"I specifically appeal to the leaders of Transkei, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian People's Organisation, the Conservative Party and others to sign the accord," she said.

"Much of the violence derives from the heritage of apartheid", said Jamaican-born Ms King.

She also identified political intolerance and the availability

of numerous weapons as other major causes of the carnage.

She said that in addition to apartheid there was political intolerance and inter-party violence, not only between different parties but also in the homelands. There was an unwillingness to allow free political activity.

"There is a whole culture of political intolerance which the National Peace Secretariat wants to change.

She said the scenario was compounded by the economic situation.

"People do not have housing, free access to work, education or training. They see others who do and it causes unhappiness and jealousy."

Ms King said the situation was critical as it became more and more difficult to differentiate between political and criminal violence.

News in brief

Sowetan
9/2/93

UN observer is attacked 336

A UN observer, Mr Jim Anderson, was attacked in Alexandra at the weekend and stabbed in the arm.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said yesterday that Anderson was pulled out of his car by a group of men at the corner of 13th Avenue and London Street at about 2pm on Saturday. His assailants sped off in his vehicle after stabbing him. The car was later recovered by police. 218

UN observer stabbed

JOHANNESBURG. — A United Nations observer, Mr Jim Anderson, was stabbed in the arm and robbed of a UN vehicle in Alexandra township, Sandton.

Mr Brian Kelly, one of the team of UN observers in the country, said yesterday Mr Anderson was not seriously wounded. **ARC 9/2/93**

He said Mr Anderson had been leaving the township in a car with UN markings when he lost his way.

"He rolled down the window to ask directions and two assailants approached him from behind on the driver's side," said Mr Kelly.

They forced him out of the car, stabbing him in the arm, and drove off.

Star 9/12/93 1

UN observer stabbed, car stolen

(336)

United Nations observer Jim Anderson was stabbed in the arm and robbed of a UN vehicle in Alexandra on Saturday afternoon.

Brian Kelly, a member of the UN observer team, said Anderson was not seriously wounded.

He said Anderson was leaving the township after an Alexandra Interim Crisis Committee meeting when he lost his way. He was attacked by two men when he stopped to ask for directions.

"He rolled down the

window to make inquiries and two assailants approached him from behind on the driver's side," said Kelly.

When one assailant drew a knife, Anderson tried to protect his face and was stabbed in the arm. One attacker

snatched the car's immobiliser and Anderson was forced out of the vehicle.

The men sped off with the car, which had UN logos on both sides.

Police recovered the vehicle, but had not made arrests. — Crime Reporter.

THE battle raging for the central Angolan town of Huambo is a disgrace — not just for Jonas Savimbi, the bad loser of last September's elections, but for the international community that is standing by and watching it happen.

The reputation of the United Nations, in particular, has been badly bruised by the Angolan debacle. It should be seeking to avoid at all costs a replay in South Africa.

Angola shows that the international community cannot keep the peace unless the internal parties are really committed to reconciliation and not, like Savimbi, to self-aggrandisement. The settlement in South Africa will, hopefully, be the result of a much more sophisticated process of negotiation — and a much clearer path of transition once the election is completed — than the Angolan deal.

The UN and the other observer teams have an essential role to play, in conjunction with the Peace Accord structures, in ensuring that South Africa's elections are equally free and fair, and that no party has recourse to crying foul if its vote, like Savimbi's, is lower than it expected.

Yet a dark cloud is moving over the involvement of international negotiators. The UN team, and the other observer missions, continue to be forbidden access to Bophuthatswana. In Ciskei there is only limited access.

This means that the UN observer mission is not able to fulfil its already limited mandate — to have free access to all places and be at liberty to meet with whom they like.

The heads of all four missions — the UN, the European Community, the Commonwealth and the Organisation of African Unity — wrote to Foreign Affairs Minister Piki Botha on January 27 warning that Security Council Resolution 772 has been thwarted and calling on Botha to facilitate their access. No reply has been received yet.

If the UN can't get access to Bophuthatswana, what hope is there for rival political parties? At the moment, there is virtually no freedom of political activity in Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and the self-governing homeland of KwaZulu.

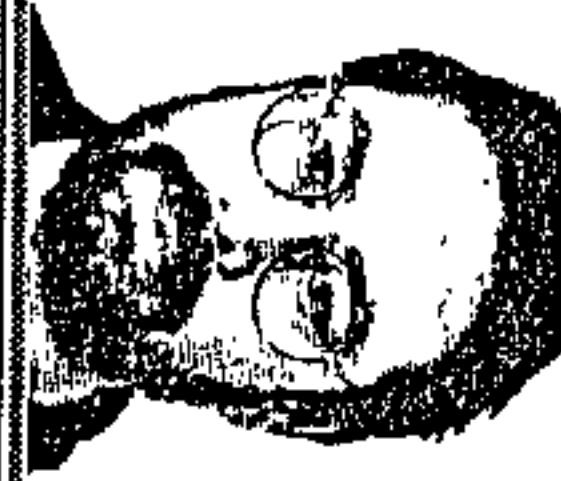
The UN team will be hard-pressed to effectively monitor political interference by bully boys in the townships, for instance, if they are toothless in dealing with authoritarian homeland regimes.

Let there be no doubt that every vote counts. Home Affairs Minister Louis Pieterse released some interesting census figures last week. Of the estimated 22.5-million South Africans expected

The art of airbrushing out what we'd rather forget

The failure of the United Nations to keep the peace in Angola is a warning to South Africa, where the international community is already being thwarted in its attempts at facilitating free and fair elections

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK



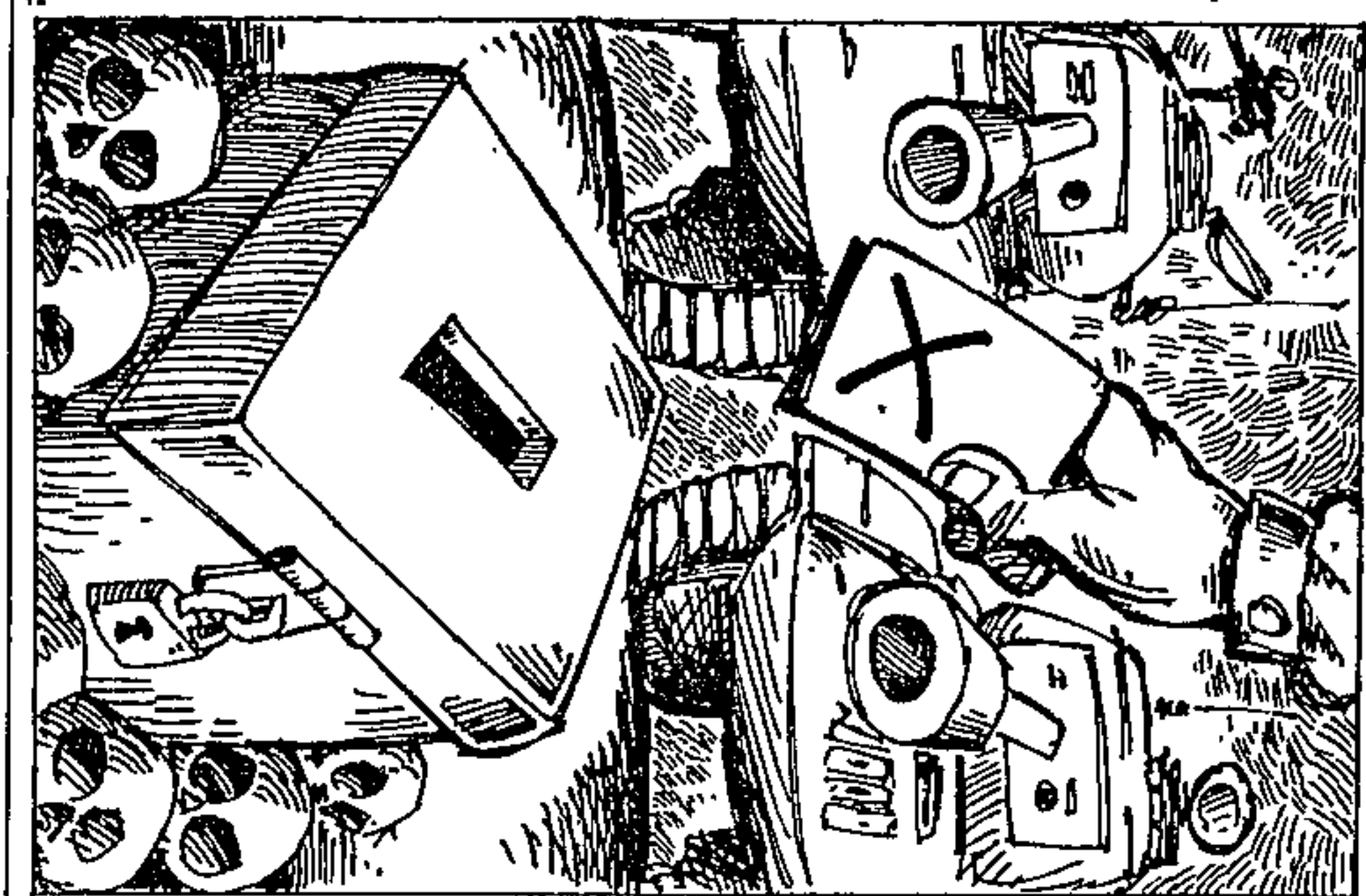
to be eligible to cast their ballot on March 7 next year, some 70 percent will be black.

Proportionately fewer blacks are likely to mark their X than voters in the more seasoned white electorate. Even under the assumption that the proportions will be same, the African National Congress would have to get 60 percent of the black vote to capture only 42 percent of the total vote.

The future of the TBVC countries is being addressed at the bilateral talks between the government and the ANC. The government has already agreed that they be reincorporated, and that the inhabitants of the homelands be allowed to vote as South Africans, but how long will this take to become meaningful? The election campaign is already under way, yet Lucas Mangope and Oupa Gqozo are showing a marked reluctance to acquiesce to the new South Africa.

If the international community remains shut out of key parts of the country, it should force the South African government to bring the homelands into line.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer (whom the Nats are doing a lot of listening to these days), says that for years he was asked what he would do



with the TBVC countries if he ever came to power. "The first morning I was in office," he replied, "I would send a telegram to each one of them saying they are perfectly at liberty to keep their independence — as long as they pay their bills from the next morning."

Angola's tragedy has unfortunately been used by everyone for their own purposes. This week the Inkatha Freedom Party attempted to paint the ANC as the Savimbi of South Africa's electoral process following the MK arms seizure.

True, the failure of Angola was the failure to disarm. In Angola, the MPLA army had melted away by the time of the election. The UNITA regulars bided their time in the demobilisation camps without, as has now become apparent, handing in their huge stockpiles of weapons.

The big lesson is that, after a civil war, a unified army needs to be created before elections. It is a lesson that best fits Mozambique, which is entering its own election campaign and where the opportunity exists to do it right. The difference with MK is that the liberation movement failed to launch a real war even at the height of the struggle. For the ANC to resort to military action if it

loses the election would be to use the weakest weapon in its arsenal.

In the fairest of worlds the comparison between Savimbi and a South African politician is not with ANC president Nelson Mandela, but with someone closer to Umtali.

However, the problem of the MK arms remains. Mandela at least seems prepared to admit that the ANC has to accept blame. In a startling admission, he told Portuguese journalists this week: "I met Mr De Klerk at one point and I told him you don't control the security forces. They are killing our people. He turned to me and said: 'That is your problem too. I immediately withdrew the accusation.'"

The ANC's real problem, as it manoeuvres into a deal with the regime, is the threat of wild fires in the regions involving its grassroots activists. There is an onus on the ANC to discipline its wild cards, but it still has a constituency to serve. Before the government can really ransom negotiations with MK arms, it should act against the aggravation caused by oppression in Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu.

The Czech author Milan Kundera described in *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting* how the Communist leader

Klement Gottwald stepped out onto a Prague balcony in 1948 to greet the hundreds of thousands of citizens welcoming communist rule.

It was a cold day and, as he stepped out, Gottwald borrowed the hat of his comrade Clementis. Four years later, Clementis was hanged for treason. The propaganda section of the party airbrushed him out of the picture that was to become known to millions of Czech schoolchildren.

Where Clementis once stood in the picture, wrote Kundera, there is only bare palace wall. All that remains of him is the hat on Gottwald's head.

Joe Slovo would appreciate this anecdote, and not just because of his long-time affection for the cronies of Gottwald. South African politicians, of all sides, are practised in the art of airbrushing history. It is all supposed to be for a good cause: to foster negotiations by giving politicians the flexibility to drop hard and fast positions. Take, for instance, the debate over sunset clauses. It is now believed that Joe Slovo was the architect of the historic "power-sharing" compromise that was the basis of the ANC's strategic perspectives document and laid the foundations for the impending ANC-government settlement.

In fact, there is little that is original in Slovo's paper. The details were spelled out by Thabo Mbeki to a briefing of foreign correspondents in February last year — a full seven months before Slovo's "earth-shattering" paper.

One accepts that there were tactical reasons for the ANC to make Slovo the man to run with the ball, to better ensure the victory of the compromise perspective among skeptics on the left. And there are tactical reasons for the NP to pretend that they have not reneged on power-sharing — even if what De Klerk is now talking about as "power-sharing" bears little resemblance to the policy he had been pushing for 18 months.

One can forgive him disguising the retreat because no one wants another white referendum. If De Klerk wants to airbrush out the NP's 1991 constitutional proposals, let him. But when the airbrushing becomes too much is when the NP, notorious throughout the world for their violations of human rights, paint themselves as the proponents of human rights. Perhaps, in these heady days when a new divergence between politicians and people is emerging, it is necessary to remind oneself of the words of Milan Kundera, that the struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting.

Star 15/2/93

Concern over (336) 'slow response to unrest curbs'

By Brian Sokutu

The United Nations is concerned about the Government's failure to implement last year's recommendations by UN special envoy Cyrus Vance to curb violence, according to the UN chief representative in South Africa, Angela King.

Recommendations contained in the Vance report included the banning of dangerous weapons, the dissolution of Koevoet and Battalions 31 and 32, and a code of conduct for the SADF.

Interviewed in the latest edition of the ANC journal *Mayibuye*, King said the Government had done "nothing signifi-

cant" to implement the Vance recommendations, despite making an undertaking to do so.

She said the UN found it "very ironic" that a year after the signing of the National Peace Accord (NPA) and the establishment of peace structures, on which SAP and SADF members also served, there "still exists a lack of communication and discussion on their part with communities in many areas".

Turning to the country's youth, King said the UN would suggest an amendment to the NPA to fully incorporate the youth. The UN was concerned that the youth — "a very important element" in the country's future — "does not seem to have any outlet".

King said a greater

effort was needed to bring the youth to play a role in the country's political transition.

She described the country's youth as "extremely articulate" and said they could play a very important political role.

Asked whether it was difficult for the UN to appoint her, as a woman, as head of the UN observer mission in South Africa, King said UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali was committed to appointing women in prominent decision-making positions throughout the UN.

She added: "He has made a statement that the UN, by its 50th anniversary in 1995, should be able to show that at least 50 percent of its professional staff are women."

pending

by David Weissglass
Gordon Conithan

whether she was a willing sex partner.

Star 16/2/93

UN chief for Mozambique

MAPUTO — Brazilian Major-General Lelio Gonçalves da Silva took up his post yesterday as commander of UN forces overseeing Mozambique's transition to democracy.

Trooped by train toilet

at
of
the
city

UN forces take on their toughest task

STAT 18/2/93
THE newly embraced role of the United Nations as peace enforcer will be tested to the limit in Somalia, where the organisation plans using 25 000 troops to mend a shattered land.

Western political and military analysts say few other world trouble spots will prove as tough as this lawless Muslim country of six million people. The mission could go on for years.

In the past, virtually all UN troops have been involved in passive peacekeeping roles, reluctant to be seen to be interfering in the internal affairs of member states.

But the UN's proposed force in Somalia will try to disarm hundreds of thousands of stubborn militiamen long used to

living by the gun.

UN spokesman Farouk Mawlawi says success or failure will be judged by whether law and order is established after two years of civil war, anarchy and famine that has killed at least 300 000 people.

The UN has made it clear that, unlike the existing United States-led multinational force trying to stop looting of food aid mostly for southern Somalia's hungry, the UN's "blue beret" troops will fan out in the huge Horn of Africa state to try to disarm all groups.

This means moving into northern Somalia, proclaimed an independent state by the Somali National Movement after the 1991 overthrow of dictator Siad Barre but recognised by no government. — Sapa-
Reuter. □

Tokyo challenged to join world peace enforcement

STAR 22/2/93



330

BOUTROS Boutros-Ghali, the United Nations Secretary-General, has issued a forthright appeal to Japan to play a larger role in the UN, and suggested the country might start by sending a "symbolic" contingent to help UN peacekeepers in Mozambique.

Boutros-Ghali said on a visit to Japan that it must do more than offer money to solve the world's problems.

"If you are an important country you have important responsibilities. My message to the Japanese Prime Minister was: 'We need more participation from Japan, which is an important country'."

Japan is currently agonising over its role in the UN: Tokyo covets a permanent seat on the Security Council, but is sensitive to criticism that it lacks the necessary international experience.

Boutros-Ghali, speaking at a press conference, carefully kept his comments within the bounds

Japan has been urged to expand its role in the United Nations, reports TERRY MCCARTHY.

of diplomatic politeness. But his underlying message was clear: a stark challenge to Japan to face up to the new demands of "peace enforcement" being placed on UN members, to boost its participation in the UN's work in New York, and to widen its focus from neighbouring Asia to encompass the whole world.

At the moment, Japan's only commitment of personnel to UN peacekeeping operations is in Cambodia, where 600 troops are engaged in repairing roads. Because of Japan's constitutional restraint on using force to settle international disputes, these soldiers are legally obliged to withdraw the moment any fighting breaks out.

Boutros-Ghali suggested last week in New York that Japan should change its constitution to enable it to participate more

fully in the new style of peace-enforcement missions that are becoming part of the UN's work in the wake of the Cold War. This caused a strong reaction in Japan, where the issue of the constitution is highly sensitive.

Boutros-Ghali did not specifically mention constitutional reform in Japan. But referring to recent UN activities in Somalia and El Salvador, he said the organisation was now being asked to move beyond "simple peace-keeping" to greater levels of engagement. Japan should not be shy to take part, he implied.

Another problem for the UN is the small number of Japanese working in the institution. Japan has a few highly publicised agency leaders - like the controversial Hiroshi Nakajima, who was recently re-elected as head of the World Health Organi-

sation with heavy lobbying by the Japanese government.

But apart from the prestige jobs, Japanese representation in the UN staff is about 50 percent of what the country is allotted by virtue of its financial contribution. Lack of language skills is one of the problems. This has tended to put Japan on a low footing within the UN.

The UN chief said that if Japan were to participate in Mozambique, for example, it would have a symbolic value, and would "show that Japan has a global approach". He said it was also important that UN forces should be representative of as many countries as possible.

Boutros-Ghali was neutral on the issue of Japan's desire to become a permanent member of the Security Council.

"It is a possibility, yes, but the decision must be taken by the members of the UN," he said.
— The Independent News Service. □

Donors' attitudes are hardening ⁽³⁷⁶⁾ UN report

SA's development organisations are likely to undergo fundamental changes as the country moves towards an interim government, according to a new UN report.

And donors are hardening their attitudes towards development assistance to SA.

Those were the conclusions in the first UN Development Programme report on SA released recently.

Urban Foundation executive director Fred Stiglingh said: "Once we have a transitional or new government in place, I am sure overseas aid agencies will take a second look at SA." At present government received no official development aid, according to the World Bank 1992 report, but it would be possible a proportion of foreign aid would be given to an interim government, the report said.

Foreign funds traditionally have been channelled almost entirely through local non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The four main recipients are the Southern African Council of Churches, Southern Afri-

can Catholic Bishops' Conference, Kagiso Trust and labour unions.

Last year foreign funding of about \$343m was committed to SA, the most in a decade. The EC alone committed 80-million ecus last year and 90-million for 1993, "the largest programmable aid programme we are running," EC mission chief Tim Sheehy said.

A trend analysis of aid donations was difficult because historically much of the funding received in SA was secret solidarity funding to anti-apartheid organisations, the report said. This source of aid had virtually dried up since 1990.

It was also possible the number of organisations receiving development aid would be reduced as organisations merged.

A future possibility for various NGOs active in the same areas was to co-ordinate their actions and even merge to form a single local development body.

The report said the future of SA's

development aid industry would depend on its ability to co-ordinate and manage development in a professional and accountable manner.

It said a better policy framework for development must be established to co-ordinate resources and project implementation.

Donors and non-governmental organisations had experienced frustrations over the perceived lack of co-ordination, it said.

Kagiso Trust executive director Eric Molobi said the challenge to SA's NGOs would be to find workable projects which still involved communities and imparted skills to them.

"The change in donor attitude must happen and we welcome it. Projects must be properly accounted for and administered professionally."

Of development aid money received in SA last year, the biggest sum — 43% — was allocated to education and training, mainly in the form of tertiary education bursaries. Community development projects accounted for about 11.6%.

MARIANNE MERTEN

B/DAY

24/2/93

UN trio face split over peace roles

336
Sowetan 26/2/93
■ **TOP DOG** London, Rome and Lisbon in
bitter wrangle over control of monitor force:

Sowetan Africa News Service

MAPUTO — Signs of friction between countries involved in the Mozambican peace process have begun to emerge even before the process is well under way.

The Italians have expressed unhappiness about their role in the United Nations monitoring force, Unomoz, and have delayed the dispatch of their contingent.

Meanwhile, the British and the Portuguese are sparring over the right to train the joint national army that will be formed from Frelimo government and Renamo rebel forces.

The advance guard of the Italian contingent in the United Nations peacekeeping force flew into Beira on Monday.

The rest of the 1 300-strong Italian contingent were to have flown in today but their departure has been delayed.

Initially defence minister Salvo Ando threatened to keep the men at home until their country was given "an adequate role"

in the command structure of the UN force, Unomoz.

Ando did not specify what role he had in mind for the Mozambican contingent but appears to object to the appointment of a Brazilian general to command the Unomoz force when Italy is making the major military contribution to that force.

Mozambican commentators have pointed out that Italy has already been given the top job in the UN operation in Mozambique, which is under the overall direction of an Italian, Aldo Ajello.

The Mozambican news agency reports that representatives of Britain and Portugal were unable to iron out differences over the troop training issue when they met in Lisbon with delegates from France, the third nation invited to help in this part of the peace process.

The British indicated that they wanted to train the new army, while the Portuguese made proposals that would effectively edge out Britain altogether.

Under these proposals, Lisbon would supervise the formation of all three services: army, navy and air force.

Star 1/3/93

We'll cancel talks, UN warns Unita

ADDIS ABABA — The United Nations yesterday gave Angola's rebels an ultimatum to send a representative to peace talks in Ethiopia or they will be called off.

UN spokesman Joao Albuquerque said if the rebels had failed to respond by 8 am today "no one is going to wait for Unita after the deadline".

The ultimatum followed meetings between the UN representative in Angola, Margaret Anstee, and Unita representatives in London and New York, the Angolan government delegation and observers from the United States, Portugal, and Russia.

The talks were scheduled to begin on Friday, but the rebels said their key negotiators were unable to leave the southern city of Huambo because of heavy bombardment by government forces.

On Saturday, Anstee proposed a nationwide truce beginning at midnight Angola time and offered to send two helicopters and senior UN officials to pick up Unita representatives at a place of their choice.

The Unita officials were to be flown to an undisclosed destination and later to Kinshasa, Zaire, where a UN plane was waiting to fly them to Addis Ababa for today's talks.

Albuquerque said the United Nations was insisting that Unita take Anstee's offer.



UN's Margaret Anstee . . . gone to extraordinary lengths to accommodate Unita.

Yesterday was the second time the rebels have failed to attend scheduled talks. Last month, both parties held inconclusive talks and agreed to meet on February 10. The rebels said fighting prevented them from travelling to Ethiopia.

Huambo, 530 km south-east of Angola's capital, Luanda, has been the centre of a six-week battle.

The back-and-forth fighting in Angola's second-largest city has killed more than 10 000 people since it began on January 9, according to the government.

Thousands more Angolans have been killed and hundreds of thousands forced to flee the fighting elsewhere.

Rebels from Jonas Savimbi's opposition Unita movement intensified their shelling of

Huambo yesterday morning, Angolan national radio reported. It said Unita had also brought in new reinforcements from Bie province.

The renewed hostilities began after Savimbi rejected results of elections in September. The elections were a result of a United Nations-brokered agreement last year.

Two Unita delegates who travelled to Ethiopia from London and New York said yesterday they, too, were awaiting the response of their negotiators, but they were not very optimistic.

"I have to say I'm getting pessimistic. The government controls Gove and we don't want to see any more of our leadership killed. It's a bit like using honey to trap a fly," said Marco Samondo, Unita's UN representative.

"We will wait and see what they say. But I think we may have to seek a postponement."

Members of an observer delegation from the United States, Portugal and Russia, who have been trying to steer the peace process back on track, were non-committal about chances of the Addis Ababa talks getting off the ground.

Of the three nations observing, Portugal is Angola's former colonial ruler. Washington backed Savimbi in 16 years of civil war and Moscow backed the socialist government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

— Sapa-AP-Reuter.

Star 11/3/93
**UN explains
lifting of
boycotts**

Staff Reporter

The United Nations has reminded foreign entertainers and sportsmen wishing to perform in South Africa that this should be done only through "anti-apartheid" bodies.

Although the "black-list" of people who had ignored the sport and cultural boycott had been withdrawn, the UN said in a recent statement that the 1991 resolution which ended the boycott stated that re-established links were still intended to bring about democracy in South Africa.

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der for the hold vast supplies of weapons. — Sapa-Reuter.

an underground garage and tore through six floors in one

unstable person or a disgruntled employee.

NEW YORK TIMES
bowed — Page 13

Boutros-Ghali told of corruption in UN ^{Star 2/3/9.3} 336

NEW YORK — A stinging in-house report on bureaucratic excess and corruption at the United Nations has been delivered to the secretary-general, Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

The report speaks of "almost surreal" budget practices and "chronically fragmented and inadequate" internal audits,

which are failing to prepare the UN for the new demands on it to provide global leadership.

One UN unit responsible for internal supervision has become "a convenient patronage dumping ground" and recently spent \$4 million (\$12.4 million) on a study of managing works of art at the New York headquarters.

A spokesman for Boutros-Ghali said the secretary-general had no immediate comment on the report, which has not been made public. It was the first time Boutros-Ghali had seen such allegations written down by the report's author, Dick Thornburgh, who has served for the past year as the

UN's corruption watchdog. Thornburgh wrote that the UN was "almost totally lacking in effective means to deal with fraud, waste and abuse by staff members."

Recruitment was "more or less haphazard". — The Independent News Service.

UN special committee to assess SA

A DELEGATION of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid is visiting South Africa for the first time to assess political developments.

The six-member group held talks with African National Congress national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo, ANC Women's League president Mrs Gertrude

Shope and ANC and South African Communist Party executive Mr Aziz Pahad yesterday.

In an interview, delegation leader Mr Ibrahim Gambari said the group would report back to the special committee — which reports to the General Assembly — on the preparations for and obstacles to the resumption of multiparty talks.

He said his delegation's mandate was much wider than that of the UN Observer Mission in South Africa (Unomsa), sent to observe political violence after a Security Council decision last year.

"We are looking at the whole issue of negotiations, how to jump-start them, how to eradicate apartheid at the earliest

possible time and also to lay the foundations of international support for reconstruction."

During their 10-day visit the delegation will travel to Cape Town, Durban and Pretoria to meet a wide spectrum of political leaders and opinion makers. They will also meet business groups. — Sapa.

Star 31/3/93

UN apartheid group visits SA

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

(336)

The first delegation of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid to visit South Africa is in the country to compile a report for the organisation's General Assembly.

The group will assess "all aspects of the South African condition", said the leader of the six-man team and chairman of the committee, Ibrahim Gambari.

He told The Star yesterday that they would specifically look at obstacles to resuming talks, the negotiation

process, violence and reconstruction.

Gambari noted that his delegation's aim was wider than that of the UN observer mission which was focusing on violence and reported to the Security Council.

The group, which arrived in the country on Sunday, met PAC president Clarence Makwetu on Monday.

The delegation met ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo and other ANC officials yesterday.

Members of the delegation will also consult President de Klerk and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

UN apartheid group in SA

JOHANNESBURG. — A delegation of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid is visiting South Africa for the first time to assess political developments.

(33505313193)
The six-member group yesterday held talks with ANC chairman Mr Oliver Tambo, ANC Women's League president Mrs Gertrude Shope and ANC executive member Mr Aziz Pa-

had at the ANC's head office here.

Delegation leader Mr Ibrahim Gambari said the group would report back to the special committee — which in turn reports to the General Assembly — on the resumption of multi-party talks and political violence and examine ways in which the international community could help in "the reconstruction of the country". — Sapa

Historic visit by UN group

Soweto 3/3/93 *336*

■ Mission to assess political developments, violence and new talks:

A DELEGATION of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid is visiting South Africa for the first time to assess political developments.

The six-member group held talks with ANC national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo, ANC Women's League president Mrs Gertrude Shope and SA Communist Party executive Mr Aziz Pahad in Johannesburg yesterday.

The delegation's leader, UN ambassador Mr Ibrahim Gambari, said the group would report back to the Special Committee — which in turn reports to the General Assembly — on the preparations for, and obstacles to, the resumption of multiparty talks. It would also assess the level of political violence and examine how the international community could assist in the "reconstruction of the country". He said his delegation's mandate was much wider than that of the UN Observer Mission in South Africa, sent to observe political violence last year. — *Sapa*.

Focus on violence against ^{Sowetan} women _{4/3/93.}

■ Weekend celebrations for Alexandra:

³³⁶ ~~336~~ ~~336~~ ~~336~~
VIOLENCE against women will be the theme of International Women's Day, celebrated worldwide this Sunday.

The theme has been selected by the United Nations, whose observer mission in South Africa (Unomsa) has organised a programme with the Alexandra branch of Women for Peace to mark the day.

A draft international declaration on the elimination of violence against women will be considered later this month in Vienna, Austria, at the current session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women, according to an Unomsa statement this week.

The declaration, once adopted by the UN General Assembly, is intended to serve as a blueprint for all countries to use in defining and dealing with the problem, and as a legal framework for national legislation.

Celebrations at the Women for Peace centre in Alexandra will start at 1pm and will include a statement by Unomsa chief of mission, Angela King, and a panel discussion featuring Mmatshilo Motsei, the initiator of a domestic abuse prevention project based at Alexandra Clinic. - Sapa.

Mozambique begins reconstruction

310m 4/3/93, 336

AFTER 16 years of war, Mozambique is taking the first tentative steps towards reconstructing its socio-economic and political infrastructure, despite the fact that it is still dependent on outside assistance and the UN peace process has been delayed from its outset in October last year.

Mozambique will become the UN's biggest commitment in Africa, but at the moment only 60 UN military observers are in the country four months after the signing of the peace agreement.

However, the first contingent of Italian troops under the UN flag were due to arrive yesterday after a battalion of 180 Alpine troops left Turin on Tuesday night, Sapa-Reuter reports.

The Italian contingent will grow to 11300 by the end of the month.

About 7000 troops are eventually expected to implement the peace process.

However, UN peacekeeping operations worldwide are under financial threat because most member states have failed to pay their annual contributions.

MARIANNE MERTEN

UN special representative Aldo Ayello said UN troops would arrive in one month stages to coincide with the phased opening of assembly points for demobilised soldiers.

The UN operations in Mozambique had secured 12 of 49 assembly points for demobilising soldiers and would open them next month. It was investigating the next 12 assembly areas.

The demobilisation process is crucial for the success of the operation. Lessons learnt in Angola have meant elections will not be held until all soldiers are demobilised.

Ayello, Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama and President Joaquim Chissano have agreed to delay elections until after the rainy season in June 1994.

About 21 000 Renamo and 61 000 government soldiers will demobilise in the next months, a diplomatic source said.

By April 12, each side should have contributed 15 000 soldiers to a joint defence force, but Maputo military sources believe Renamo will find it

difficult to provide this number.

UN assembly will provide tents to demobilised troops, who in turn are expected to build their own accommodation. Medical aid is also given.

Although Maputo has working electricity, water and sewerage systems, office space and accommodation is hard to come by.

Since the signing of the peace agreement, many refugees are returning to their homes in the countryside. However, urban overcrowding has not eased significantly.

UN officials estimate about 3.9-million people will depend on food aid this year while 1.5-million people are expected to return from neighbouring countries and more than 5-million internally displaced people also will require settlement aid.

At the Rome conference in December last year, \$320m was pledged by the international community towards the peace process.

However, seeds and tools pledged last year did not arrive in the country for last year's planting season, making rural resettlement for the returning refugees impossible.

1993

UN is asked to denounce Unita rebels

Star 5/3/93
(336) (4)

LUANDA — The Angolan government yesterday threatened to violate a Security Council resolution and enlist foreign military support in the renewed civil war if the United Nations did not formally denounce Unita rebels by next week.

A government spokesman, General Higinio Carneiro, said if the UN did not show support for the Angolan government by Tuesday "there will be no alternative but to secure external military assistance," Portuguese news agency LUSA reported.

"We will use all viable means to see that it is the guilty party in this conflict that is punished," Carneiro said.

Earlier yesterday Foreign Minister Venancio de Moura said the government would appeal directly to the UN to repeal the ban on military aid to Angola.

But Jeffrey Davidow, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, said providing weapons was not even being considered by the three countries monitoring Angola's failed peace accords.

"We understand the government's great frustration, but it is clear that what Angola needs is peace — not more arms," Davidow said.

Before peace accords were signed in May 1991, the United States and South Africa supported Unita in its 16-year battle to topple the then-Marxist government, backed by Cuba

and the Soviet Union.

The steady flow of weapons turned Angola into a Cold War proxy battlefield, killing more than 350 000 people and devastating this once prosperous and fertile southern African nation.

The peace accords called for demobilisation of the rebels' army and creation of a unified military, and banned the sale of lethal weapons to Angola until a new government was formed by democratic election.

But fighting broke out before the country's first multiparty elections, held in September, could be completed.

After Unita lost a parliamentary majority to the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi lost the first round of presidential polling, the rebels seized control of three-quarters of the country.

● Unita yesterday accused the Angolan government of having hired five South African mercenaries to assassinate Savimbi.

In a statement issued in Paris by the French representative of Unita, rebel spokesman Jorge Valentim said the Luanda government had taken the mercenaries from Namibia to Huambo, the embattled town in central Angola where Savimbi has his headquarters. Valentim gave the mercenaries' surnames as: Borman, Buys, Gerber, Renens, and Olivier. Unita has also accused Luanda of using Namibian forces and Zairean mercenaries. — Sapa-AP-AFP.

Reluctant imperialists

STAR 10/3/93

336

IT IS only three years since the last black African colony became independent but African nostalgia for colonial times, once unthinkable, is heard more and more frequently. Most Somalis welcomed the Americans on the streets of Mogadishu on December 9. It may have been a welcome borne of despair but elsewhere, mainly in rural areas, farmers say quite unself-consciously: "Why don't the British (or the French or Portuguese) come back? Life was better in those days."

Will their dreams come true? Will the collapse of Africa and the creeping Western control of Africa's economies and, increasingly, its politics, usher in an age of neo-imperialism? The original takeover of Africa owed something to the plea for humanitarian intervention. More than 100 years ago David Livingstone called on the world to save Africa from slavery and poverty and to "heal this open sore of the world". His plea encouraged the European powers to step in. Instead of setting Africa free, however, they took it over for their own commercial and strategic interests.

The modern-day Livingstones, the aid agencies, are calling for help just as he did. Most would be horrified at the suggestion that they are contributing to a new takeover but the reality is that in the weakest countries they are already playing an imperial role. Their financial resources and access to the world media give them immense power. As in Livingstone's time, their pleas could end with Western powers stepping in, especially if African voices are added to theirs. As wars and famines increase, aid agencies become less and less able to cope and only governments with guns and aircraft can intervene effectively. That intervention creates dependency and a form of imperialism.

No one wants to colonise Africa these days. No one wants territory for settlement or self-aggrandisement. No one wants to take on responsibility for Africa's horrendous problems. But television pictures of starvation, especially man-made starvation, cry out for intervention.

After Kuwait, Kurdistan and Somalia, it is clear that the best formula for intervening in situations which require quick and effective military action is an American-led force backed by a UN mandate. But the lesson America is learning in Somalia is that intervention, for whatever motive, is intervention. Whatever carefully laid plans and timetables you go in with, once you are in it is difficult to get out again.

The United States is ambivalent about intervention. Americans react to television pictures

US intervention in Somalia is the test that will determine how the West responds to other countries in chaos, argues RICHARD DOWDEN.



Unwelcome saviour? ... a US marine wears a helmet with protective visor to guard against stones thrown at the troops by children at the weekend. Picture: AFP

of hunger and gunmen by pushing to get in there and solve the problem. At the same time, their instinct is isolationist. They don't want to get involved. American troops left Vietnam 20 years ago but their one-time involvement still dictates present attitudes. The commanders now in Somalia all served their apprenticeship in Saigon and it forged their attitude to intervention. General Robert Johnston served in Vietnam as a young marine, and Robert Oakley, the US Special Envoy, was a young diplomat there in the '60s. Vietnam crops up in their conversation continually. In many Americans Vietnam created a gut desire for revenge, a need to prove something, but Oakley learnt painful lessons.

"We went in there and did all sorts of wonderful things American-style without really understanding that we were playing a neo-imperial role ... but one day we left and all those things we had created collapsed because they were built by us, not by them. So, painful as it is, you've got to let them work it out."

But Washington hasn't given Oakley the time to let Somalis work it out. Terrified of being sucked into an imperial role, the Americans are trying to

withdraw as soon as possible. The mandate they gave themselves was to go into a limited area for a limited period and establish security for food distribution. But they are learning that the problem with Somalia was, and is, that the state, the last vestige of authority and structure, has been destroyed. The daily meeting in Mogadishu of the UN organisations and the aid agencies, chaired by the marines, is the nearest thing to a government that Somalia has.

Despite the breathing space the Americans have created there is no new Somali political culture emerging. The killers are just taking a rest between bouts and the elders, intellectuals and others who might be able to restore sanity to Somalia have no mechanism for gathering popular support or creating even local government.

The marines have administered an anaesthetic to Somalia, but there is no evidence that the disease which brought them in has been cured. If they leave, the devils will return, tenfold.

The United Nations is supposed to take over from the marines — Boutros Boutros-Ghali has suggested May 1 as a hand-over date — but the UN operations have been a disaster in So-

malia and it looks in no shape to run a country.

The best hope for Somalia is that the Americans will stay on by stealth, seconding senior officers to command and control the UN operation, providing logistical back-up and keeping a strike force off the coast ready to step back in again if necessary. They must also move faster to disarm and marginalise the warlords and create a new forum for Somali political representation. In the meantime, though, some Somalis may begin to blame their troubles on the foreign presence instead of the reason which brought it there. When that happens, will the Americans have the stomach to stay?

But it is not just the future of Somalia at stake. Somalia is the test. If it works, there will be other candidates for intervention: Bosnia, Sudan, Angola and — looking ahead — Tajikistan. Just wait for the television pictures, the huge dull eyes and wasted bodies, the enraging arrogance of the guns that stop the food aid. Again the cry will go up for intervention. If Somalia is a success that outcry will be effective. If Somalia slips back into disaster, the cry will be "Remember Mogadishu". — The Independent News Service. □

Thursday March 11 1993 3

Star 11/3/93
**'Observers
for SA poll'**

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

(336)

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali will be urgently informed of the need for international observers to monitor South Africa's coming election from an early stage.

A delegation of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, which today completes a 10-day visit, will also inform Boutros-Ghali of the need to increase the numbers of the UN violence monitoring team and to widen its mandate.

The committee's chairman and Nigerian ambassador to the UN, Ibrahim Gambari, said the central message of his report to the General Assembly will be that the promising process of transition should be encouraged by the international community.

But the first two issues were so urgent that he would inform Boutros-Ghali of them before he has written his report, said Gambari.

The six-member delegation spent 10 days in South Africa on the first visit to the country of the Special Committee against Apartheid. Wide ranging discussions were held with many political leaders.

Star 11/3/93

Encourage transition - UN group

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

(336) This was the view yesterday of the chairman of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid and the Nigerian ambassador to the UN, Ibrahim Gambari, who leaves South Africa today.

The process of transition holds promise and should be encouraged by the international community, a UN delegation visiting South Africa will report to the General Assembly.

But two urgent aspects will immediately be relayed to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali — the need for international observers to monitor multiparty elections, as well as the numbers and mandate of international violence monitors.

After 10 days of activity, it was felt the observer team should be enlarged and its mandate widened.

The six-member team detected "cautious optimism" about the resumption of talks, during discussions with ANC president Nelson Mandela, PAC president Clarence Makwetu, Constitutional Development

Minister Roelf Meyer and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Obstacles to negotiations were the lack of agreement on regionalism/federalism and the status of Codesa agreements.

The delegation detected fears that violence would increase before elections but noted the view of key players that it would not be allowed to disrupt the process.

Reconstruction was a "tremendous task" but it could not begin until a legitimate government was in place.

Talking on 'toothless watchdogs'

Star 11/3/93

(336)

RECENT events have left the international participants in the Angolan peace process facing a credibility crisis.

The latest developments have been disconcerting both for the United Nations, which has prime responsibility for steering the country back to peace, and for the three observer nations — the United States, Russia and Portugal — who are supposed to be playing a major backup role.

At the same time he warned that if any effort were made to recapture the Soyo oilfields — a major oil company is reportedly plotting to do through a mercenary force — Unita's response would be "violent and extensive", which is another way of saying the oil installations would be blown up.

Both the conditions for the resumption of talks and the Soyo warning pose a challenge to the international community, especially to the UN and the troika. The world will be waiting with interest to see how they respond.

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali is in a dilemma. Agreeing to shift the talks to Geneva may be politically feasible but agreeing to replace Anstee would make him out to be caving in to the rebels' demands and would very likely in-

flaminate the MPLA government in Luanda.

The troika are also in a difficult position. In effect, Savimbi has responded to their "or else" with an even bigger "or else".

The MPLA, too, has been placed in a bit of a bind. Either it must compromise with Savimbi or it must find the strength to throw Unita out of Huambo and put it on the defensive elsewhere in Angola.

In stating his terms in a radio broadcast this week, Savimbi called on former Unita fighters to return to ranks, saying Unita had plenty of arms and supplies. It remains to be seen whether in doing that he is engaging in a bit of a bluff of his own or whether he seriously envisages escalating the conflict to force his demands on the MPLA and its international backers.

In deciding how to react to these developments, the foreign players must assess the military prospects. Unita are able to deny the government control over about three-quarters of Angola. But by taking Huambo they have committed themselves to defending the city, thereby departing from their traditional guerrilla warfare role and engaging in conventional warfare, for which it is ill-equipped and inexperienced.

In capturing Huambo, however, Unita defeated the MPLA forces in a conventional battle, which seems to show that it can fight in this way, at least for a relatively short period.

The Unita and MPLA forces are probably about equally matched in numbers of men. The MPLA have the theoretical advantage of armoured vehicles and a relatively strong air force

but may not be able to maintain their tanks and planes without major foreign assistance.

Whether such assistance will be provided is one of the main questions awaiting answers. Since the MPLA forces have always used Soviet weaponry, the obvious source of re-supply is Russia, which has plenty of spare arms to sell. But can the MPLA afford to buy them, even from what is left of its oil wealth? Or might the world witness the supreme irony of the United States buying weapons from Moscow for the MPLA?

Washington is being urged to recognise the MPLA government as a means of putting pressure on Unita. It is difficult to see how this would bother Unita, however, provided it has the means to continue fighting. The troika's ultimatum was ineffective mainly because Unita

has nothing to lose, or very little to lose, especially since the UN ruled that it had been defeated in the election last September.

Unita would be badly hurt politically if it were thrown out of the Western countries in which it maintains offices for lobbying and propaganda purposes. But that would not affect the situation on the ground in Angola.

A more realistic option would appear to be for the troika and the UN to focus on Unita's expressed willingness to return to the negotiating table and to deal there with the movement's stronger bargaining position.

According to Unita's London representative, Brigadier Isiah Samakuva, the movement still accepts the peace accords signed at Bicesse in Portugal, under which the September

election was held. But from its new position of strength it wants to widen the provisions of the Bicesse pact.

Unita, according to the brigadier, accepts the UN declaration of an MPLA parliamentary victory in the election, while still saying the poll was fraudulent. And it is willing to take part in a runoff election for the presidency. But first the country must be returned to a condition conducive to a free poll.

Samakuva said Unita envisages a broader UN role and a strengthened UN presence in Angola in order to ensure that the opposing armies are disarmed and disbanded and a joint force formed.

(The UN has been widely blamed for the failure of the Angolan peace process by trying to do it on the cheap, with too few monitors and too small a peacekeeping force).

In addition, according to Samakuva, Unita wants to negotiate something not in the Bicesse accords: the installation of a tri-

bally based federal system that will take account of Angola's ethnic divisions and ensure that all political power is not exercised from Luanda.

This vision reflects Unita's traditional obsession with ethnicity. One of its watchwords is the promotion of its "Negritude". And in calling his followers to arms this week, Savimbi said the purpose was to "bring dignity to the Bantu people in their land of origin".

Unita's vision might be viewed with admiration in Pretoria, matching as it does President de Klerk's own ambitions for the future South Africa.

Pretoria appears to have been able to resist the temptation to foster the spread of that vision by resuming material aid to Unita. That is not to say that others in South Africa have been equally scrupulous.

For the moment, however, Pretoria is on the sidelines of the Angolan contest. If the ball is in anyone's court it is in that of the UN and the troika. □

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As the US pulls out, there's no sign of the violence stopping, reports The Economist

Risky future for Somali force

STAN 12/31/73

336

SAVING a life can land the saviour with an itksome responsibility. Three months ago the United States, with the United Nations in tow, went to the rescue of Somalia, where many hundreds of people were dying each day from lack of food. Relief supplies now get through. But as the American marines prepare to hand over to the UN in the next month or so, the rescue operation stretches into a hazardous and open-ended future.

Even with a strong mandate, the job is daunting. With a weak one, it would be better not to try it at all.

The Security Council, which is studying a report just completed by the UN secretary-general, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, is expected to vote soon on the mandate for Somalia's new force. It will do so in full knowledge of how weak and

muddy mandates have affected the UN in the past: in Angola, for instance, and in Somalia itself, where the earlier operation was abysmal (the peacekeepers, hobbled by the feebleness of their instructions, stayed stuck in their barracks).

To prevent such ineffectiveness again, the Security Council has to ensure the new operation has money, freedom and authority. It must give the UN soldiers military power and the UN civilians administrative power. For a transitional period of uncertain length, the UN should be king of the Somali castle.

That means, for a start, that the council must invoke Chapter VII, the enforcement bit of the UN charter. Boutros-Ghali wants rules of engagement for his troops that will allow them to go where they wish and to fire when they

believe it necessary, to defend themselves and to intervene between others. He is banking on his men doing more than the Americans, though they will be a smaller, even more mixed-up force, covering a wider area.

The current force, now 30,000-strong and about half American, tried to pacify the main famine area, some 40 percent of the country. It has yet to succeed: as hand-over time draws near, the fighting and attacks on relief workers continue.

The UN force, commanded by a Turk, will have 20,000 soldiers plus logistical support from 5,000 Americans, who will break precedent by serving under a non-American. It will have instructions to go everywhere, including the north, which considers itself independent and is heavily mined, and to disarm Somalia's militias.

It is a giant order.

Security is the basis on which everything else has to be built. In Cambodia the factions agreed to bestow "transitional authority" on the UN. Somalia's factions, even less organised than Cambodia's, have not reached that level of agreement. Nonetheless, the UN will need to have the authority, if not the title. In no other way can it begin to set Somalia back on its feet and restore to it an economy, a police force, penal code and some idea of accountability.

Whoever Boutros-Ghali sends as his special representative — the job is now vacant — will, for a time, have to be Somalia's ruler.

Somalis suspect neo-colonialism, but their country is far closer to chaos than to self-government. The 15 factions, which vie for power and money, are due to meet in Addis Ababa on Monday for the

"National Reconciliation Conference" they agreed to in January. The UN, the conference's sponsor, organiser and travel agent, hopes to lighten this gunpowder with clan elders, professional and business people, and women.

Many of these "silent voices" will be in Addis anyway, for a development conference neatly planned to take place a couple of days earlier. This brought donor governments, international agencies and Somalis together to discuss reconstruction.

Somalia will continue to need food hand-outs at least until the autumn, but Jan Eliasson, the UN's man in charge of humanitarian affairs, is seeking \$750 million to re-establish local administration, health and education systems; to get the land back into use; and to bring the refugees home. The theme of the two con-

ferences is clear: stop killing one another, or whistle for the reconstruction money.

If it had a choice, the UN might not take on Somalia. There is, after all, no peace to keep, no political objective is within touch, the likelihood of failure is high.

Somalia will use up a huge lump of the UN's resources at a time when Africa alone is littered with desperate and deserving causes. But last year, as America's fellow-members on the Security Council held back from whole-hearted involvement, America itself jumped in, pulling the UN with it.

The United States is now getting out, as it always said it would, leaving the UN trapped. Retreat at this stage is probably unthinkable. So go forward, but prepared and fully armed. □

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Risky future for Somali force

STAN 12/3/73

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NEWS IN BRIEF

Positive view of talks

THE international community viewed renewed efforts to convene multiparty talks and SA's declining violence positively, UN Observer Mission head Angela King said yesterday. (336)

Speaking after a visit to New York, where she briefed UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali on developments in SA, King said monitors had reported a consistent decline in violence.

She said talks leading to the next negotiation phase were proceeding very well, and that peace committee officials should be praised for their efforts.

B/DAY 16/3/93.

Policy about-face as govt imposes sanctions

17/3/93
B10A4
IN A policy about-face, government has decided it does support the idea of economic sanctions after all, and has prohibited SA companies from trading with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia — made up of Serbia and Montenegro.

The ban — in keeping with a UN decision to stop trade because of Serbian aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina — has been gazetted.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said the decision was taken in line with an an-

RAY HARTLEY

nouncement by Foreign Minister Pik Botha last year that SA would adhere to all mandatory UN Security Council regulations, including sanctions.

The spokesman would not comment on whether SA had changed its long-held view that sanctions were ineffective as they hurt ordinary people and not those in power.

Trade and Industry chief director of foreign trade Bert Pienaar said the move

was unlikely to have any effect on SA businesses as his department was not aware of any SA company engaged in trade with Yugoslavia.

He said before the break-up of Yugoslavia, SA companies had exported steel to the country, but this was no longer the case because of the civil war.

"It's like Angola. Nobody's doing trade with Angola, there's too much conflict there," he said, adding: "It would be highly irresponsible for SA not to go along with UN sanctions."

Donors Wary On Somalia

Guardian/W in

By Jennifer Parmelee

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia — Do-

nor countries agreed at the weekend to meet most of a United Nations appeal for \$166.5 million in assistance for Somalia, but many contributors withheld major pledges, warning Somalis that continuation of aid would depend on whether order can be restored in the chaotic African country.

"Each episode of violence that hinders relief operations, including the tragic deaths of relief workers, forces us to ask whether Somalia is worth the risks," said Richard Cobb, head of the U.S. government delegation to a U.N.-sponsored conference on humanitarian aid.

The three-month-old foreign military intervention in Somalia has greatly reduced the level of violence that raged during two years of civil war and famine following the fall of dictator Mohamed Siad Barre. Nevertheless, nine aid workers, including three foreigners, have died since the U.S.-led military force arrived, and rioting and sporadic factional fighting have highlighted the continuing divisions among Somalia's many clans.

At Saturday's final session of talks on aid, donors agreed to provide approximately \$130 million to a U.N. plan aimed at rebuilding Somalia during the coming year. Most of the funds, which include about \$30 million from the United States, would support projects aimed at helping Somalis feed themselves, find jobs, and send their children back to school.

The total donations fell short of the U.N. target because many donors withheld substantial pledges, saying it was up to Somalis to demonstrate a commitment to protecting aid workers and resolving the country's political divisions. Representatives of the European Community, in particular, said they would condition their response on the outcome of the peace talks.

"Somalis themselves must demonstrate their commitment to their country by a greater contribution to creating a secure and peaceful environment in which the rebuilding of Somalia can begin," Britain's ambassador to Ethiopia, James Glaze, told participants.

The United Nations initially had sought \$253 million, but donor nations balked at what they called an overly ambitious proposal that failed to set specific, realistic goals. Glaze, echoing the views of many Western donors, said the international response to Somalia's needs depended heavily on stronger and better-coordinated management by the United Nations, which is scheduled to assume control from U.S. military forces May 1.

UN backs opening of business data system

PETER DELMAR

(336) ~~336~~
TWO UN agencies have publicly endorsed SA's inclusion in an international business information system.

The UN Industrial Development Organisation (Unido) and the UN Conference on Trade and Development (Unctad) have backed the SA launch of the Swiss-based Kompass information system.

Safto is launching the SA edition of Kompass which will feature 15 000 local companies.

Kompass currently operates through 61 companies in 130 countries. *DOM 19/3/93*

Unido director-general Domingo Siason said the local publication was a long-awaited development. "Unido sees extensive scope for co-operation with SA companies in its efforts to secure new investment for, and transfer of technology to, the developing countries," Siason said.

Until now UN agencies have been reticent about openly expressing commercial links with SA. The UN Development Programme recently denied it was compiling data on potential SA contractors for development projects in Africa.

Kompass chairman Max Neuenschwander said yesterday the local publication would boost small and medium-sized business while exposing SA products to export markets worldwide.

Development of a local data base was encouraged by the two UN bodies, said Neuenschwander, who had been compiling a worldwide network on their behalf, of which SA would form an important part.

One use would be in Unctad's efforts to boost international trade with developing countries through the 200 trade efficiency points identified by an Unctad summit last year.

The United Nations' *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*

Preamble

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world.

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people.

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protect-

ed by the rule of law.

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations.

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women, and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Whereas a common understanding of these

rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realisation of this pledge, now, therefore...

The General Assembly

proclaims this

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms, and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the people of territories under their jurisdiction.

article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of person.

article 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude, slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

article 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

article 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

article 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

article 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

This page was made possible by the support of Shell



Declaration on Rights

336

SOUTH
20/3 - 24/3/93.

article 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

article 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

article 11

1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

2. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavy penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

article 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

article 13

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movements and residence within the borders of each State.

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and return to his country.

article 14

1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from prosecution.

2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

article 15

1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to

change his nationality.

article 16

1. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and its dissolution.

2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

article 17

1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion: this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

article 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression: this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

article 20

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

article 21

1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

2. Everyone has the right to equal access to public service in his country.

3. The will of the people shall be the

basis of the authority of government: this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

article 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realisation, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organisation and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

article 23

1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and protection against unemployment.

2. Everyone, without discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

article 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitations of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

article 25

1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social service, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

article 26

1. Everyone has the right to education.

Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

article 27

1. Everyone has the right to freely participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

article 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realised.

article 29

1. Everyone has duties to the community in which the free and full development of his personality is possible.

2. In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

3. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

article 30

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

UN peacekeepers arrive at last in Mozambique

By Eric Janssen
Star Africa Service

BEIRA — After months of delays, the United Nations' peacekeeping operation is finally off the ground in Mozambique.

Yesterday the third aircraft arrived here, carrying 190 Italian troops and bringing to 670 the total number of officers and soldiers now in Mozambique. By tomorrow this will have grown to 1 050.

The arrival follows the weekend's off-loading of equipment including eight military helicopters, two light aircraft, 398 vehicles (including armoured cars, ambulances, trucks, field kitchens and trailers) and 72 containers of supplies.

The Italian contingent — the largest from those of eight countries which have sent personnel to Mozambique — expects to be fully operational by April 1.

A base and headquarters have been set up at Dondo, 30 km west of Beira.

Lieutenant-Colonel Giovanni Marizza, Italian chief of staff, said about half of the Italian contingent would move to Chimoio, near the Zimbabwean border, later this week.

"Our main task will be to safeguard the Beira Corridor. The UN must still work out the details, but our armed force will serve as a deterrent to bandits and soldiers thinking of taking up arms again. We will also set up some of the 49 assembly points where Renamo and Frelimo soldiers will be demobilised and disarmed," said Marizza.

While officers from Bangladesh, Brazil and Botswana have already arrived, their countries' soldiers will follow later.

Zimbabwean soldiers are presently safeguarding the western part of the Beira Corridor, but command will officially be handed over to the Italians on April 9 at Chimoio.

Police probe Unita embargo buster

By ARTHUR GAVSHON and STEPHEN LAUFER

SOUTH AFRICA has informed United Nations secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali that it is taking action against a Vereeniging air operator accused of violating a ban on supply flights to Unita.

In a four-page letter to the UN, Foreign Minister Pik Botha says the Department of Transport has instituted legal action against an offender violating the prescribed civil aviation procedures.

"On March 5 I requested the relevant government departments to take additional steps to prevent unauthorised private flights to neighbouring countries," he writes.

The letter also goes to some lengths to reassure the UN of South Africa's continuing support for the Angolan peace process, saying that it will not

tolerate the recruitment on its soil of mercenaries for duty in Angola.

It is clearly part of the government's current push to win friends and influence the international community in the run-up to multi-party negotiations.

Civil Aviation Directorate sources say that the Vereeniging operator used a Russian-registered Antonov 32 cargo aircraft with a Russian crew which have been stationed at Rand airport for several months to fly at least two missions between late February and early March to southwestern Zaïre, along a supply route favoured by Unita.

The first mission, the sources said, was a reconnaissance flight to look for suitable landing areas.

The second took several tons of specialised fuel for heavy construction equipment to a drop-off point in

an area adjoining Angola. The fuel had been cleared through South African customs.

The sources said the flights were in clear violation of South African and international aviation procedures, because the operator involved was not registered to provide air services. A flight plan had also not been filed, as required.

The matter is now in the hands of the police, who have been told by the air operator that he was unaware of the regulations he is said to have breached.

The Antonov 32 is a turboprop cargo plane with powerful engines. It is designed specifically for operation from high altitude airfields with short or poor runways and is described by industry sources as a workhorse particularly well suited to the Unita supply mission.

People v rhinos

By GAYE DAVIS: Cape Town

FORMER residents of Riemvasmaak in the northern Cape have accused the government of valuing animals more than people following the announcement that land in the area is to be set aside for the re-establishment of the endangered Cape rhino.

Riemvasmaak residents, who farmed the land from 1923 until they were forced out under the Group Areas Act in the 1970s, want to return and have told the government's Advisory Commission on Land Allocations they intend applying for the land to be restored to them.

Riemvasmaak residents were resettled in Marchand in the northern Cape, Khortgas in Namibia and Welcomewood in Ciskei. Their land was later taken over by the South African Defence Force.

Deputy minister of Defence and Environment Affairs Wynand Breytenbach announced recently that the land would be divided into two sections: 60 000ha to be managed by the National Parks Board mainly to re-establish the Cape rhino and a 15 000ha training area for mechanised battalions.

W/Mail 26/3-1/4/93.

Van Aardt's

top UN post

336
ST Times (RUSS) 28/3/93

By ZILLA EFRAT

SOUTH AFRICA is set to play a significant role in a new UN board to standardise Electronic Data Interchange (EDI) in Africa. (18915) (11)

Sitprosa chief executive officer Albert van Aardt has been elected as the board's vice-rapporteur in what is believed to be the highest appointment of a South African in the UN to date.

He says the appointment indicates more widespread acceptance of SA by the international community and allows SA to now openly take part in Edifact, the UN body that administers EDI standards in more than 100 countries.

The Edifact African board, formed last Friday at a UN Economic Commission for Europe meeting in Geneva, aims to bring trade documents for inter-computer exchange up to world standards.

Its four founding members include Gabon, Nigeria, Senegal and SA, but invitations will be extended to all African countries. Its secretariat will be based in Gabon.

UN aid agencies face grim task in war-ravaged Angola

STimes 28/3/93.

Relief workers face hidden dangers as they try to help victims of Angola's civil war. SCOTT PETERSON travelled with an aid column in Cabinda, some 160km east of Huambo, on the road to the port of Benguela

THE mine looked small — just an anti-personnel mine laid by Unita rebels — but it was reinforced underneath with two mortars and an anti-tank device.

A man called Unamhe, 20 years old, with six years experience in the Angolan army, was chosen to defuse it.

Behind him waited a column of soldiers protecting a convoy of relief food meant for the thousands of refugees fleeing renewed war in central Angola.

The United Nations World Food Programme had prepared 300 tons of food in 12 lorries, destined for Cabinda, but the road was considered almost too dangerous for travel.

As Unamhe worked on the mine it exploded, blasting pieces of flesh and uniform 30m and leaving one more gaping crater in the road. They buried Unamhe's head in a ditch nearby under a pile of stones.

Fellow soldiers filed past the hole, starting in reverence and terror, carefully keeping to patches of asphalt, a reminder that Angola is again at war with itself.

But Unamhe's death is also a foretaste of the dangers faced by the UN and other relief agencies in Angola as they begin to feed and heal the displaced and wounded in isolated regions where fighting is heavy and front lines fluid.

Regional head of the WFP in charge of the convoy Leo Pavillard said the UN expected fighting between Unita and the government this year would displace more than two million people.

"This is now an emergency," said British-born Mr Pavillard.

"We are back to the same situation as in 1990, when the peace agreement was signed. But this time it is a lot worse."

The flood of tens of thousands of refugees from the central city of Huambo, which fell to Unita two weeks ago, is beginning to pour towards Cubal, Cabinda and the "safe" coastal towns of Benguela and Lobito.

The refugees, more than 10 000 of whom have already reached Cabinda — twice as many as the WFP expected — must follow the same dangerous road as the food convoy.

We found three mines en route, and groups of refugees limping slowly along, their feet bruised, blistered and bloody with the effort of walking in fear for up to 15 days.

As the food convoy and military escort reached Cabinda, Mr Pavillard warned the vehicles not to stop in the town because hungry

refugees would swarm over them. "They are all over the road up ahead," he shouted. "They are starving and desperate."

Instead, the refugees and soldiers cheered as the convoy drove past with blue UN flags flying. But the joy was short-lived as lorries began to unload at points across the town.

Soldiers trying to ward off thieves started a noisy gun battle near a church, in which everyone with a weapon joined in firing into the air. Other soldiers stole sacks of maize.

But the violence attending food distribution was a welcome change from the hazards of the road for most refugees. They told terrifying stories about the two-month battle for Huambo and of Unita atrocities.

Though the city voted in favour of Unita during last September's election, more than 10 000 people are thought to have died, and the city is flattened.

Angolan journalist William Toner, who took five days to walk some 400km through forest, scrubland and dusty plateaus to get to safety in Benguela, said Huambo had become the Beirut of Africa during fighting between Unita rebels and government forces.

Toner, who has worked for the Voice of America and Portuguese media, said the "dimension of the fighting in Huambo was indescribable, horrible in every aspect".

Franklin Guilherme, 23, who fought as an armed civilian to defend the city before fleeing with his wife and baby, said: "Many people died. Unita looked you in the face and would shoot, shoot and shoot."

The road was not safe either, he said, because Unita attacked refugees. "We thought Cubal was liberated, but Unita shot and killed people who went there. We had to take another road."

At the Catumbela River, near Cubal, refugees used a rope to pull themselves across.

But many lost their strength halfway over. Mothers were forced to choose whether to let go of their children to save themselves, or let go and perish with their babies.

After suffering heavy defeats in

Plea for airdrop

LUANDA: The Angolan government has urged the United Nations to airdrop food to a quarter of a million people trapped in the besieged city of Cuito.

Cuito is cut off from air supplies and aid agencies there ran out of food for distribution a week ago. The UN estimates that 70 000 people in the city — its normal population is 250 000 — are on the verge of starvation.

General Joao de Matos, chief of staff of the armed forces, told state radio that the situation in central Angola had reached "alarming proportions", especially in the towns of Cuito, Menongue and Cubal, which are besieged by Unita rebels. — *Reuter*.

the south this month, Angolan forces hit back in the north, driving the rebels from the strategic oil town of Soyo.

The Unita rebels acknowledged their defeat by firing their last desperate rounds from canoes as



José Eduardo dos Santos



VICTIM: An injured MPLA soldier in Luanda's military hospital sits under a poster of Angolan president José Eduardo dos Santos

they fled across the Congo River to Zaire.

Unita overran Soyo, an oil town in the far north-west of Angola, two months ago when rebels and government forces re-ignited Angola's 16-year civil war after a

brief lull. Soyo accounted for five percent of Angola's massive oil output, and offshore installations owned by American and Belgian companies for a third of total production — a perfect prize for the cash-strapped armies of both

“We are back to the same situation as in 1990, when the peace agreement was signed. But this time it is a lot worse.”

Now government tanks protect the few undamaged oil storage tanks and make a mockery of the UN-sponsored peace plan which culminated in September's elections.

No one kept a count of the civilian casualties, said Colonel Pepe de Castro, who met the first group of foreign journalists to visit the town since it was recaptured earlier this month. He claimed 45 rebels died as against only four government troops.

"We are not interested in taking prisoners in this war. There is no room for them," said General Teixeira de Brito, a northern Angolan commander. "We did capture a couple who were wounded," he said, as an afterthought. "But they died." — *The Telegraph, London*.

Van Aardt's top UN post

S. Times (Buss) 28/2/93

By ZILLA EFRAT

SOUTH AFRICA is set to play a significant role in a new UN board to standardise Electronic Data Interchange (EDI) in Africa.

Sitprosa chief executive officer Albert van Aardt has been elected as the board's vice-rapporteur in what is believed to be the highest appointment of a South African in the UN to date.

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Making U.N. More Accountable

WITH the vast increase in United Nations activities and expenditures resulting from its new-found status as a global emergency number, the organization's capacity for ensuring the integrity of its operations is more important than ever. (336)

The recent report by the U.N. Financing Advisory Group, led by Paul Volcker and Shijuro Ogata, noted specifically that "support for improved financing will be dependent upon a perception that funds are economically managed and effectively spent."

Unfortunately, the mechanisms in place to promote such a perception and to deal with allegations of fraud, waste and abuse within the United Nations are creaking leftovers from more placid times. Internal audit units are woefully understaffed, external audit functions are ill defined, and the latest report of the \$4 million a year Joint Inspection Unit deals with "Managing Works of Art in the United Nations."

What is needed is a new Office of Inspector General, staffed to effectively audit, investigate and lay the basis for remedial action in serious cases of conflict of interest, misappropriation of funds or other corrupt practices.

Creation of this office should be coupled with adoption of a comprehensive code of conduct with strict financial disclosure requirements for key U.N. staff members, a moratorium on further expensive worldwide conferences, reduced travel expenditures, elimination of "feather-bedding" practices and more strenuous control over the unnecessarily wide array of U.N. publications, all as recommended in the report I pre-

By Derek Thornburgh

sented to Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali upon the completion of my one-year assignment at the United Nations.

The inspector general's office is, however, the centerpiece of this agenda for reform.

The United Nations' current structure for audit, inspection, investigation and program evaluation is so fragmented and inadequate that, time and again, we were called upon to create ad hoc teams to carry out inquiries into allegations of serious wrongdoing. The delay inherent in the process of recruiting and staffing these pickup teams often allowed the trail to grow cold and deprived the effort of the vitality and pro-

fessionalism that would come from more regular procedures.

The need for closer and more effective scrutiny of U.N. operations is especially crucial given the mounting concern of major contributing member states (including the United States) about the rising level of expenditures of the U.N. in nearly every area, estimated to exceed \$4 billion this year.

These major donors, and indeed all member states, deserve the reassurance that their contributions are being wisely and prudently spent so that they, in turn, can convey such reassurance to their taxpayers, the ultimate supporters of all U.N. activity.

My recommendation in this regard is largely a result of my own previous experience with inspectors general, both as governor of Pennsylvania and as U.S. attorney general. In each case I found the office of inspector general to be of immeasurable assistance in keeping management fully and currently informed about problems and deficiencies relating to program administration and operations and about the necessity for and progress of corrective actions.

Such a management tool is essential, indeed long overdue, for today's United Nations.

UN support for continued talks

NEW YORK — The UN Security Council has deplored the "brutal murder" and affirmed its support for those refusing to allow violence to hold up negotiations.

The council said the assassination "saddens all who are working for peace, democracy and justice in South Africa."

It welcomed the commitment by the ANC and others to talks.

— Special Correspondent.

Star 10/4/93

Time now ripe for peace, prosperity

PEACE and prosperity is a sure thing for Mozambique, says Aldo Ajello, the UN secretary-general's special representative to this southern African country. "With the signing of the peace accord last October came rain, interrupting a long season of drought," he notes. "I like the idea of linking peace and prosperity."

Sitting on the 11th floor of the Protea Ruyuma Hotel with only a UN flag decorating a sparse office, Ajello is constantly interrupted by a stream of officials, phone calls and secretaries.

This tall, slim, silver-haired Italian diplomat who has been in Mozambique since October is convinced that both Frelimo and Renamo are committed to peace.

"I am optimistic, especially since I met the two leaders (President Joaquim Chissano and Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama). I feel both parties want — and need — peace."

Dhlakama is a particularly impressive person, Ajello says. "He has an instinctive political skill and he adores the new game. He wants to become a political leader and leave the role of guerilla chief."

"The government knows it cannot win a war. They have already been fighting for 16 years without success. So there is vested interests on both sides to



ALDO AJELLO

MANDY JEAN WOODS

achieve peace. All the elements for success are there."

The delay in moving the process along, he says, has been largely because of logistical problems. As one observer noted, the deadline suggested in the ceasefire agreement was "optimistic, even by the standards of Western countries, never mind an African country racked by two decades of bloody civil war."

Guarantees

The biggest problem at the moment is getting a basic agreement signed with the government which will allow the UN to function properly. It would, for example, guarantee freedom of movement and grant certain immunities, without which the arrival of the rest of the UN troops will probably be delayed.

Already the first free elections are expected to

be held only in June 1994 (they were scheduled for October this year) because of the delays in implementing the ceasefire agreement.

Other major obstacles have been Renamo's decision to demobilise its troops only once 65 per cent of the UN troops are stationed in the country, and the government's refusal to assist in funding Renamo's shift from a military organisation to a political party.

"Renamo's only capital is its troops and weapons. Dhlakama is concerned that nothing should happen to them, which is why he is waiting for the deployment of the UN troops before doing anything."

At present there are only 1300 UN troops in Mozambique; in all, some 7500 are expected from Italy, Botswana, Bangladesh, Uruguay and Zambia. There are currently 154 UN military observers from 12 nations in the country; at full strength there will be 378 military observers from 19 nations.

Pledges from the international community totalling \$1 billion have already been made for the reconstruction of Mozambique, and there is huge interest, both from South Africa and the international community, in the opportunities a peaceful Mozambique offers, Ajello says.

336

10 Voter education

Watching the elections

South 164-14/4/93.

"Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives. The will of people shall be the basis of the authority of government and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures"

— United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, Article 21

RESearch by organisations involved in voter education consistently shows many first-time voters in South Africa are afraid to vote on election day.

They fear intimidation and violence will accompany elections. This is why international election observer missions may be called in to monitor our first democratic elections.

Since World War II the right of human beings to participate in the governments of their countries has been recognised as a basic human right. Elections are vital in ensuring that citizens enjoy free political participation in their government.

Although there are a variety of reasons why elections are observed, it is largely to guarantee citizens' basic human rights.

Monitoring assesses the fairness of election proceedings.

There are many types of election observer missions and there are a number of factors which differentiate them from each other.

Two of these are probably most relevant to the current transitional phase of South African political life. These are the nature of the institution that authorises and sends out the mission, and the primary reason why elections are being monitored.

The first United Nations (UN) elections observer mission was sent to monitor a by-election in Korea in 1948.

Since then, many more have been sent all over the world to monitor elections and referenda.

UN missions are sent on the invitation of the administering authority of the country issuing the invitation.

During its stay in the country, the elections observer mission evaluates the political education campaign, the political campaign, the election day balloting procedures and the counting of the votes.

On their return to the UN, a comprehensive report is prepared and submitted to the relevant UN structure for consideration.

Inviting official delegations from various countries to observe elections has been happening where elections are regarded as controversial or part of a transitional political process.

The most famous examples of official country observer missions, were those sent to Zimbabwe and El Salvador.

Thirteen countries sent delegations to the 1980 elections in Zimbabwe, 17 countries sent observer missions to the El Salvador elections in 1982, and 26 countries observed the March 1984 El Salvador elections.

The scope of official country observer missions varies. Some delegations are in the country for a limited period, mainly to observe technical aspects of the voting process. Their main purpose is to indicate support for the electoral process.

While such missions deter fraud and manipulation by election officials, merely by their presence, this is not their main purpose.

Some delegations perform a role similar to that of UN observer missions. They arrive early enough



ON PATROL: UN observers quiz an election official in Namibia

before elections, remain throughout and for a few days afterwards.

This enables them to travel, meet a cross section of the population, comprehensively evaluate the political process in the country and monitor the vote count after elections.

They then prepare a comprehensive report, including conclusions about aspects of the electoral process.

Non governmental organisations (NGOs) send observers for a number of reasons, some of which are:

- A request from a fraternal

organisation within the host country.

- A general interest in development in the host country.

● To evaluate the political and human rights situation in the host country;

● To provide a credible counter to the likely conclusions of other official or unofficial delegations in the country at the time.

Some NGO missions comprehensively analyse all aspects of the political process, while others limit themselves to election-day activities.

They usually prepare a report for their sponsoring agency.

This report is often used to influence legislators, foreign policy makers and public opinion about the future relations between the country of the sponsoring organisation and the country in which elections were held.

Material for this article was obtained from "Guidelines for International Election Observing: The International Human Rights Group", prepared by Larry Garber.

Star 10/14/93
Boutros-Ghali

in peace plea

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has appealed to all South Africans not to allow the "senseless" murder of Chris Hani to derail constitutional negotiations.

In a statement issued in New York on his behalf, he voiced concern at the possible escalation of violence and noted that the killing was aimed at disrupting the peace process. (336)

Star 15/4/93

Ceasefire obstacle in Angola talks

ABIDJAN — The Angolan government and Unita rebels failed to reach agreement on a ceasefire yesterday, but pressed on with talks as UN officials said both sides wanted to overcome the obstacles to peace.

"We're moving directly on to the second point" on the UN agenda for the talks, UN spokesman Joao Albuquerque said between negotiating sessions. This point is implementation of the initial peace accord signed in Portugal in 1991.

Jorge Valentim, delegation chief for Unita, said: "We agreed today that it was impossible to implement a ceasefire because of the complexity of the situation."

The ceasefire issue will come

up again, however, as participants pointed out, since the May 1991 Bicesse accords provided for a UN-monitored ceasefire, the presidential and parliamentary elections held last September and the formation of a single, joint army. (336)

The negotiations were blocked earlier when Unita called for an "immediate suspension of hostilities", but the government demanded a "ceasefire, in the full meaning of the term", sources said.

Renewed civil war began after Unita refused to accept it had lost the UN-supervised general elections to the MPLA, in power since 1975.

In the presidential poll, the incumbent Jose Eduardo dos

Santos narrowly missed winning enough votes to avoid a run-off round with his main rival, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

Unita General Eugenio Manuvakola said suspending hostilities would be a "sort of 'gentlemen's agreement', which would enable us to consider all the issues in a favourable climate".

Valentim complained that the Bicesse accords provided for "no referee".

"It was like a football match but there was nobody to blow the whistle for fouls."

This approach was categorically rejected by the government team, however, which considers that the ceasefire had already been signed at Bicesse. — Sapa-AFP.

Optimism, pessimism on chances for Angolan truce

ABIDJAN — A United Nations official at Angolan peace talks has reported progress towards a ceasefire declaration, but a senior government delegate does not share his optimism.

"We are coming nearer to an acceptance of the ceasefire," Joao Albuquerque, the spokesman for the UN-brokered talks in Ivory Coast, told reporters.

Although both the Angolan government and the Unita rebels say they want to stop the war, they have been divided over a ceasefire pact.

After Saturday morning's ses-

sion, the senior military officer in the MPLA government's delegation had his doubts about prospects for a ceasefire.

But, added General Higino Carneiro, the parties both approved about 80 percent of a peace package.

Albuquerque said both sides wanted the United Nations to have a stronger role in Angola than the advisory and monitoring one it had before the 1991 peace accords collapsed last year. — Sapa-Reuter.

● Peace talks, war moves in Angola — Page 15

Govt and ANC learn a lesson

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT and ANC negotiators said the lesson they learned from Monday's negotiations was to be better prepared and to focus on substance and content. **BIDM**

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer and ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj forecast that Friday's talks would make better progress.

Maharaj predicted that the planning committees' proposals that six technical committees be set up to deal with the Codesa reports on issues such as a transitional executive council, independent media commission and armed formations would be accepted by all the parties.

He pointed out that all the parties had accepted the resolution of the negotiating forum on April 1 that technical committees would enhance the process. **28/4/93**

Meyer denied claims by Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group that it and the ANC were trying to steamroller the process, stating that the timeframes and the way forward had been discussed with these parties in bilateral talks.

He admitted that this was the fundamental difference between parties as Inkatha and its allies rejected the need for interim structures. However, he was still hopeful that government and the ANC could sell their plan to the objecting parties.

He said negotiating parties should not allow themselves to be distracted by side issues, but should focus on moving forward speedily.

Mangope digs in on independence

BILLY PADDOCK

BOPHUTHATSWANA President Lucas Mangope yesterday dug in his heels on the issue of reincorporation, saying there was no question of the territory giving up its independence. **BIDM 28/4/93**

He told the opening of the territory's National Assembly: "There is no question whatsoever, I repeat no question whatsoever, of Bophuthatswana giving up her independence."

He said his government was surrendering nothing, and least of all would it consider relinquishing control over its security forces. "That is our bottom line. That is where we stand at present. We merely want self-rule... no more... no less."

However, Mangope said: "Let me hasten to add that Bophuthatswana is not inflexible or intransigent."

President F W de Klerk said last week that progress with leaders of the TBVC states on reincorporation was good and that if there was no intransigence by any parties on the issue, it could be resolved by June.

Mangope said because Bophuthatswana had enjoyed "such remarkable success we will be ignored by any future central government in SA while the former independent and self-governing states which ran themselves into the ground through maladministration, mismanagement and corruption will bleed the system in order to catch up with the rest of

us". As a result Bophuthatswana would stand still for years and its resources would be redirected to other lesser developed areas.

This was one of the main reasons his government demanded that the boundaries, powers and functions of regional states in a new dispensation had to be determined at the multi-party forum and not be left to "the whims and prejudices" of an elected interim administration.

"In other words the form of state for the new SA must be finalised before anything else at the present negotiations," Mangope said.

Principles of a new constitution needed to be finalised at negotiations and approved in a referendum before elections were held.

This would obviate the need for a transitional government and a transitional executive council. It would also allay the fears of many who suspected the course being charted would lead to the same sort of benign dictatorship of the old SA.

He warned against government and the ANC proceeding with the reform process and excluding parties which were not co-operating with them and said it would be a mistake to underestimate the importance of Bophuthatswana in the negotiations

'Generous assistance' awaits SA

CAPE TOWN — The UN, the US and the World Bank have promised generous, non-partisan assistance for the political transition in SA, says Goldstone commission chairman Judge Richard Goldstone. **304**

Addressing a news conference yesterday after returning from the US, he said the offers of assistance were nonprescriptive and reflected the international community's wish to ensure the success of SA's first democratic government. **304**

Foreign experts could be called in to assist the commission's inquiry into the prevention of violence and intimidation during elections.

While in the US Goldstone met members of the UN Security Council and the UN Special Committee on Apartheid as well as US state department and World Bank senior officials, and legislators.

"My strong impression is that there are many good and positive benefits waiting for SA as soon as a representative and legitimate transitional executive council is in place, and even more so when we have a government of national unity," he said.

The US anti-apartheid lobby had substantially transformed itself into a strong pro-democratic SA campaign which supported all South Africans working for a peaceful and democratic country.

Financial assistance from the World Bank and IMF was virtually assured provided SA moved rapidly towards a political settlement. **336**

Members of the US House of Representatives and the Senate foreign relations committee appreciated the need to begin amending or repealing the 150 statutes which prohibited assistance to SA. — Sapa.

WORLD

'Africa requires \$950bn to cure its economic ills'

ADDIS ABABA ³³⁰ ^{28/4/93} A top African economist said yesterday the world's poorest continent, hit by civil wars, drought and debt, needed \$950bn in aid in the 90s to emerge from its cycle of economic ills.

UN Economic Commission for Africa executive secretary Layashi Yaker told a meeting of economic experts in Addis Ababa that Africa had to start by mobilising its abundant resources.

"They (African states) must increase their own efforts to mobilise domestic resources and boost the efficiency and productive capacity of their utilisations," Yaker told delegates.

"It also requires political commitment and sacrifices by the African countries if their dismal economic performances are to be improved," he added.

Infrastructure

Yaker said Africa needed up to \$950bn in external development funding from 1993 to 2005. With that money the UN had targeted its annual growth at 6%.

"The task of mobilising these resources is a shared responsibility between Africa's peoples and governments on one hand and its development partners on the other," he said.

Political conflicts and civil wars had inflicted "incalculable damage on the existing fragile infrastructure while economic activities virtually came to a stop in many of its conflict-ridden countries," Yaker added.

Western aid officials say living standards have fallen consistently and the continent's massive debt burden has grown in spite of \$105bn of net development assistance in the 80s.

Debt has doubled to \$280bn since 1982, although African countries have paid more than \$200bn in debt service between 1983 and 1991 — more than the whole debt burden in 1982.

Yaker called on African countries "to focus with renewed vigour" on strategies which would help launch sustainable development.

The four-day meeting of economic experts would prepare an agenda for a conference of African economic and finance ministers in Addis Ababa next week, commission officials said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Big aid offers for reformed SA, says judge

■ Goldstone brings message of hope:

Joel 28/4/93
THE United Nations, the United States Government and the World Bank have promised generous and non-partisan aid for the political transition in South Africa, Goldstone Commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said yesterday.

Addressing a Press conference in Cape Town following his visit to the United States, he said the offers of help were non-prescriptive and reflected the international community's wish to ensure the success of South Africa's first democratic government.

Goldstone said foreign experts could be called in to help the commission's inquiry into the prevention of violence and intimidation during South Africa's first nonracial elections.

During his two-week trip, the judge met members of the UN Security Council, the UN Special Committee on Apartheid as well as senior officials in the US State Department and World Bank, and legislators in the US Senate and House of Representatives.

"My strong impression is that there are many good and positive benefits waiting for South Africa as soon as a representative and legitimate transitional executive council is in place, and even more so when we have a government of national unity."

The powerful US anti-apartheid lobby had substantially transformed itself into a strong pro-democratic South Africa campaign which supported all South Africans working for a peaceful and democratic country.

Goldstone said financial aid from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund was virtually assured provided South Africa moved rapidly toward a political settlement. — Sapa.

Star 29/4/93

Angola accord imminent

(336)

ABIDJAN (Ivory Coast) — Close to signing a truce in their 18-year conflict, Angola's warring factions yesterday jockeyed for last-minute advantages in the UN role in their peace process.

"We hope to sign something soon," chief rebel delegate Jorge Valentim said.

Joao Albuquerque, spokesman for UN mediator Margaret Anstee, said any differences "could be overcome in the next few hours if goodwill exists between the two delegations".

The government continued to express scepticism about Jonas Savimbi's announcement on Tuesday that he had

agreed to a ceasefire.

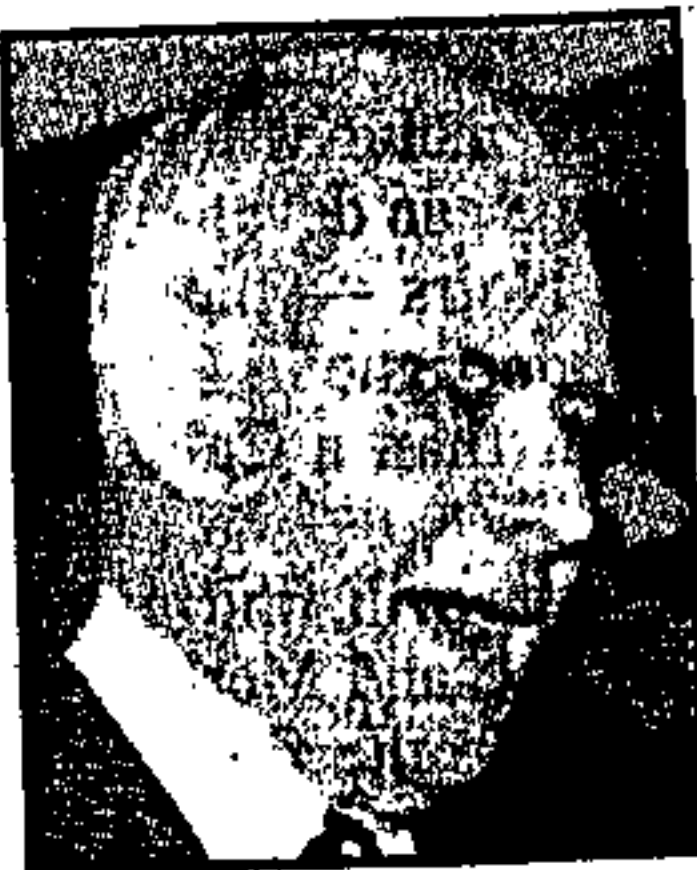
Conference sources said US observers talked late into Tuesday night with the rebels they used to support, applying pressure for them to sign.

Unita had been adamant it would agree only to a temporary suspension to fighting while political and military issues were negotiated.

The talk yesterday was only of a ceasefire. Valentim confirmed that, but refused to say it was a concession.

Unita delegate Jardo Muekalia said they discussed the role of UN peacekeepers and how the UN could help in the formation of a national army.

— Sapa-AP.



Vance . . . retains his
brief in SA.

Vance to retain SA connection

By Mike Littlejohn

NEW YORK — Cyrus Vance will retain his connection with SA as UN representative after he bows out this week as a Balkans peacemaker.

Questions were raised whether Vance, a former US Secretary of State, might hand over his responsibilities. But UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali is understood to have asked him to continue to monitor the constitutional process in SA.

However, he is expected to make only infrequent visits to the country except in crises after he returns to his New York law practice.

Boutros-Ghali is said to have great confidence in Angela King, head of the UN observer team, with whom Vance will maintain contact.

At the age of 76, he is handing over his Balkans duties to Thorvald Stoltenberg of Norway, who will work with Lord Owen, the European Community mediator in the, so far, futile peace effort in former Yugoslavia.

UN appeal for refugee aid

By Michael Sparks

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) plans to launch an international appeal on Monday for \$200 million (about R630 million) to finance the repatriation of Mozambican refugees over a three-year period.

The repatriation of the 1.5 million who fled the civil war is the largest organised repatriation project yet undertaken by the agency in Africa. It is hoped that the programme will start next month, said the head of the UNHCR mission in South Africa, Kallu Kalumiya.

While Malawi has shouldered the largest burden with 1.1 million refugees settling in that country, refugees have settled in other countries in the region including 300 000 in South Africa.

A delegation of senior UNHCR executives is due to return today from Malawi and Mozambique where they inspected the preparations for the repatriation effort.

Kalumiya said the repatriation programme had been made possible by the accord signed in October between the Mozambican government and Renamo.

The agency plans to spend about R96 million for re-integration projects inside Mozambique in the first year.

Efforts to co-ordinate the return of those refugees in South Africa with the Government have so far been unsuccessful, and the agency called for an end to the forced repatriation of the refugees.

While recent rains and the voluntary repatriation had improved things in Mozambique, there was concern that more than 2 million landmines and the destroyed infrastructure would impede the operation's success.

Star 3014193
Pessimism on Angola talks

ABIDJAN — UN-sponsored talks in Ivory Coast on the Angola conflict resumed yesterday on a pessimistic note as a Unita rebel leader accused the government of being out for revenge and of using humanitarian aid as a weapon in negotiations.

336

UN peace mission to Angola in jeopardy

ST Times 215193

By PETER JAMES SPIELMANN (326)

WITH the United Nations chief threatening to pull UN peacekeepers out of Angola unless progress is made in peace talks, the Security Council has extended their mission for only one month.

The council voted unanimously on Friday to let the peacekeepers remain in Angola until May 31 and to re-evaluate their mission based on the outcome of peace talks under way between the Angolan government and Unita rebels in Abidjan, Ivory Coast. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali was asked to report his recommendations on the future of the mission before the end of May.

The Security Council also demanded a halt to attacks on humanitarian relief

flights in Angola, and urged both parties, "in particular Unita", to ensure the safety of flights and of UN personnel.

Unita has accused the government and the UN World Food Programme of using food as a weapon and Unita forces have attacked UN relief aircraft four times in as many weeks. The World Food Programme said it had cancelled all relief flights after a Unita missile brought a plane down on Monday. The Russian pilot died.

Unita claims food is only being distributed to government-held areas, and that the planes are being used to carry weapons and strategic supplies to government forces, allegations that the World Food Programme and other relief agencies deny. — Sapa-AP.

UN takes command of Somali relief efforts

MOGADISHU — The US turned over command of Somalia relief efforts to the UN yesterday, marking the start of reconstruction for the war-ravaged country.

In a low-key ceremony typical of the goal for a "seamless transition", Marine Lt-Gen Robert Johnston handed over control of the US-led coalition to Lt-Gen Cevik Bir of Turkey, who will command a force that is projected to peak at 28 000 troops.

The American flag atop the coalition headquarters was lowered as an honour guard representing the participating countries stood at attention. It was replaced by the blue-and-white UN flag.

Johnston praised the work of Operation Restore Hope's soldiers, who have safeguarded food convoys and virtually ended the starvation and civil war that claimed 350 000 lives last year.

But he said a lot of work remained for the UN force, which will include more than 4 000 Americans. — Sapa-AP.

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Thieves lock motorist in boot

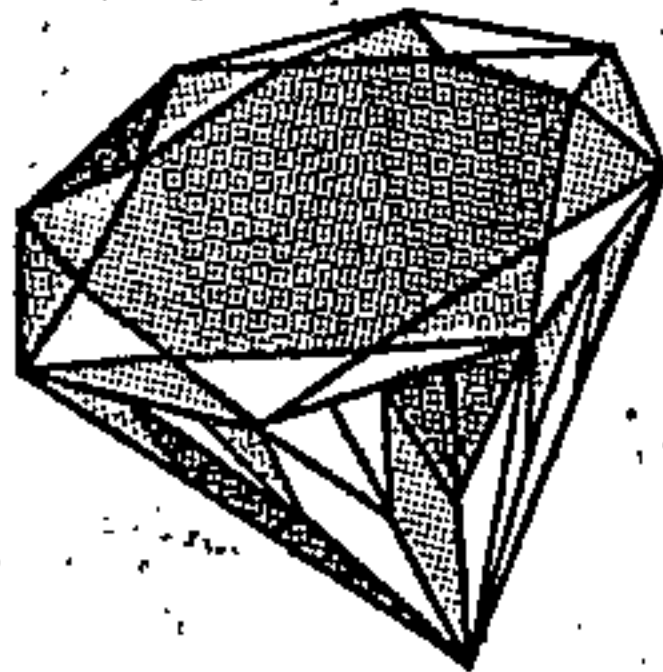
motorist escaped from four armed hijackers who locked him in the boot of his car in Ennereny, south of Johannesburg, at the weekend. The men grabbed Daniel Williams (30) on Saturday when he stopped at the roadside. He forced open the boot and jumped out, police said.

Mark 13 at a glance

overall (close):	3771 (+5)
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/dollar (May 7):	3,15
rand (May 7):	4,58
(FTSE-100):	2793,7 (-19,4)
(Nikkei open):	20 730,45 (-80,91)
York (Dow):	3437,19 (-4,71)

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UN repatriates Mozambicans

LUSAKA — The office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) will begin repatriating 1,3 million Mozambican refugees next month in the largest such operation yet carried out in Africa.

The UNHCR said in Lusaka at the weekend that more than half a million of the refugees were expected to return home this year under the programme.

● The UNHCR estimates there are 250 000 unregistered refugees in South Africa. — Spa-Reuter.

ley, when a James Co Shepherd (2) — who played Transvaal were travelling with the James's two drew Cox Lange (19) of

All the vehicles died

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Helicopter fired

Police arrested a 69-year-old man at an old age home yesterday after he allegedly fired three shots at an SAP helicopter searching for two suspects in Akasia, near Pretoria.

The suspects had stabbed an elderly couple on a smallholding at Winternest, police said.

Police spokesman Major Andrew Lesch said a security guard at the old age home in Akasia claimed to have seen the man fire at the helicopter.

He said the plained child making a noise for the past few days he heard the helicopter, he looked and shot at it.

The man is expected to appear in Pretoria North Court today.

Lesch said the helicopter was searching for the men after an elderly couple, kuyi (70) and his

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Self-determination does not mean what Van Tonder believes it does, says Stanley Uys

Victorious Right unthinkable

ROBERT van Tonder, doyen of South Africa's political dinosaurs, was sounding forth on the BBC World Service the other day on the parallel between eastern Europe's insistence on "self-determination" and the Afrikaner Right wing's revolt against a melting pot nation.

Van Tonder, as usual, was drawing the wrong conclusions. There are two different conclusions he should have drawn.

In what was Yugoslavia, for example, "self-determination" has come to mean ethnic cleansing, and the vocabulary of the Right wing in South Africa has become more and more representative of this abominable concept.

Leaders of the extreme Right talk openly now not of the survival of whites, but of Afrikaners. The new front that has been

formed is the Volksfront. The images that are being evoked are of *die Boer en sy roer*. Dr Dawie de Villiers, the BBC is told, is not *'n ware Afrikaner*. Do these right-wing leaders have any idea of the abhorrence with which the international community regards this pursuit of ethnic cleansing?

The other conclusion Van Tonder should have drawn is that, for all its doubts and disagreements, the United Nations is committing itself increasingly to "interference" in member countries' internal affairs, when these countries overstep the mark.

This concept of the UN policing the world has been strengthened, not weakened, by the fumbling over Bosnia. Even before Bosnia, the Americans had marched into Somalia to keep the relief supply lines open. Precedents are being established that point to a new UN

role.

Of course, there will always be differences over when a particular country has overstepped the mark, and many will overstep the mark and get away with it, but let no one be under any illusions that the UN will stand idly by if the Right wing ousts President de Klerk.

No one expects the UN to intervene militarily in South Africa against Van Tonder's fellow-dinosaurs, but I will make the prediction now that it will crash down on them like a ton of bricks. They will not know what hit them.

Van Tonder and the generals should not be surprised if sanctions returned overnight. Even in its darkest hours, the National Party government had influential friends in foreign capitals, but the right wing would have no friends at all.

International opinion supports the De Klerk-Mandela line-up, and if negotiations are wrecked, and De Klerk is ousted, the world effectively will side with the ANC.

The pain of rightwingers who cannot come to terms with what is happening in their country is understandable. Emotionally and intellectually, they just cannot cope. But what do they possibly hope to achieve, except make South Africa a country unfit for their children to live in?

Afrikaner unity has gone out of the window, and right-wing unity is even more remote. The summing of the generals is a sign of weakness, not strength. The formation of a Volksfront would be laughable, if it were not tragic.

If the right wing, by a supreme effort, succeeds in ousting De Klerk, what would they do with their victory? They do not have

the vaguest idea of what to do next. Before the week was out they would degenerate into a squabbling rabble. The only legacy they would leave would be of an economic wasteland.

Strutting in their ridiculous uniforms, and buttressing each other with bar-room bravado, they would call upon their heads the wrath both of the black population and of the rest of the world.

There they would stand, a pitifully weak fragmented minority of a minority of a minority.

The generals have been summoned to the right-wing cause to militarise it, and in this way hope-fully mobilise it, but this in itself is a vote of no confidence in the political leadership. How are you feeling today, Dr Fiedie Hartzenberg? As your hour comes, it is snatched away from you by a clutch of retired generals.

I think De Klerk will survive this Afrikaner crisis, not only because the right wing is formed of incipient squabblers (how many extremist groups are there now, more than 200?) and because they would reduce South Africa to ruins within months, but because the National Party is taking on a shape which fits in with the future.

In the last resort, South Africa's 5 million whites, I am sure, will act sensibly, as they did in last year's referendum.

The generals and the rest of the extremist leaders should ask themselves whether they really think they can stand up to an enraged black population, on one side and an enraged international community on the other. Then they will really discover what it means to be caught between a rock and a hard place. □

Star 18/5/93
336

More Japanese join UN force

MAPUTO — A total of 42 Japanese soldiers arrived in Maputo yesterday to serve in the UN peacekeeping operation in Mozambique.

The full contingent of 48 Japanese troops, six of whom arrived as an advance party on Thursday, will be engaged in port and airport duties in Maputo and Beira.

The UN military presence in Mozambique is now virtually complete. It is made up of five in-

fantry battalions with a total of 4 721 soldiers.

Bangladesh has sent the largest battalion of 1 320 soldiers to protect the corridor from Malawi to Nacala.

The Italian battalion of 1 039 soldiers is guarding the Beira Corridor which runs across central Mozambique from the Zimbabwean border to Beira.

The 821-strong Zambian battalion is stationed along the Limpo-

pe corridor from Chicualacuala on the southwestern Zimbabwean border, across southern Mozambique to Maputo.

Some 820 Uruguayans are guarding the main north-south road that runs from Maputo over 1 500 km to Cabo Delgado on the border with Tanzania.

The last of the corridors, in Tete province, is being protected by a Botswana battalion of 721 soldiers. — Sapa-AFP.



THE collapse of the mar-
athon Angolan peace
talks threatens to plunge
the southern African
state back into civil war.

According to UN
special representative
Margaret Anstee, the 40-
day negotiations failed
this Friday on one point:
the refusal by Unita to
sign a peace protocol un-
der which it would have
to withdraw from the
towns it conquered when
fighting resumed last Oc-
tober.

The Luanda govern-
ment delegation signed
the protocol, which was
drawn up by the three
peace-broking powers:

Angola on brink of war again, say UN experts

Russia, Portugal and the
US.

But Unita claimed that
such a withdrawal -
which the UN Security
Council had also demand-
ed - could only occur if
government forces simul-
taneously returned to bar-
racks and UN peacekeep-
ing troops were deployed
in Angola.

In a statement after the
collapse of the talks, the
three powers blamed Un-
ita for the failure and
praised the "good inten-
tions" of the government.

Luanda's good stand-
ing had already received
a tremendous boost earli-
er this week when US
President Bill Clinton de-
cided to recognise the An-

golan government. It was
the first time since Ango-
la's independence from
Portugal in 1975 that the
White House recognised
the Luandan authorities
as the government.

Unita's forces control
about 70 percent of Ango-
la and, though they may
be isolated international-
ly, military experts be-

lieve they have more than
enough equipment to con-
tinue the war in the short
term.

Anstee predicted the
war would "probably in-
tensify."

The apparent cause of
its revival was the refusal
by Unita leader Jonas Sa-
vimbi to accept that his
faction had been beaten
in the UN-supervised
elections last September.

The victims are the
residents. Already, some
two million Angolans -
about one fifth of the pop-
ulation - have had to flee
their homes, becoming
refugees in their own
country. - Sapa-AFP

Tsegaye Tadesse looks at the OAU's role in peacekeeping and economics

Star 25/4/93
Africa's 'UN'
spreads its wings

336

AFRICA'S "United Nations" turns 30 next month. It might be a little late in life to be coming of age, but that is what is planned for the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit in Cairo.

"The Cairo summit will be a turning point. A summit for reflection. A summit for action," said OAU Secretary-General, Salim Ahmed Salim.

Derided by Western critics as a toothless talk shop and an anachronism, the OAU plans to carve a new role for itself by tackling the poverty and war that dog its development.

It is the world's largest regional organisation, the voice of more than 500 million people, many of them among the world's poorest.

But for years it has been an ineffectual voice because member states routinely fail to pay their dues. This year, as in many previous, it has received little more than 10 percent of its annual R95 million budget.

It has stood by powerless while nations such as Somalia and Sudan destroyed themselves in civil wars. It has found little to agree upon except a deep hatred of apartheid.

But now, for the first time, and with the support of some Western governments, the OAU will discuss setting up a force to solve the many conflicts between governments and rebels across Africa.

It will debate the creation of a pan-African peacekeeping force to police wars which rage from Angola to Liberia and from Sudan to Senegal — and whose principal victims are innocent people.

This will be a ground-breaking move. Until now, such intervention has been thwarted by OAU statutes which bar members from interfering in the internal affairs of another.

"After 30 years, it is time to think of what we have done during all these years. We shall take stock and review our shortcomings and chart a new path for the future," Salim said.

Thirty years ago, Africa's new leaders founded the OAU to lobby for an end to racism in South Africa and to break the last shackles of colonialism.

"By and large these struggles have been won, except for the unfinished business in South Africa," said Salim.

But poverty remains the heaviest shackle on the world's poorest continent, and long-delayed moves towards regional economic co-operation and integration are now taking shape.

They have been spurred by the reluctant awareness in Africa that free-market reforms are the cornerstone of future economic growth and that rich countries tend to help those African states which are seen to be helping themselves.

Salim said Africa was in the process of a double transition in the 1990s — the switch from one-party politics to pluralism and a move towards the free market after years of heavy state-run economics.

"The whole question of economic co-operation, integration and conditions which will make economic co-operation possible — such as the issues of stability, security and commitment to democratic transition — will be considered," he said.

OAU planners have long lobbied and made blueprints for an African Economic Community to sweep aside barriers to inter-African trade, which represents only a tiny fraction of all commerce carried out on the continent.

But only 25 of the 51 member states have so far approved the plan which requires 34 signatories to become OAU policy, although it will not be binding.

Salim strongly criticised the industrialised world for what he called its failure to support Africa's efforts towards economic progress.

Rich countries mistakenly saw Africa as nothing but chaos and used this as a pretext to deny aid, he said. — Sapa-Reuter. □

y 26 1993

UN report puts SA on top in Africa

By Mike Littlejohn

NEW YORK — South Africa leads all countries on the African mainland in human development, according to a new United Nations report.

The republic, which is listed as a developing country in the economic context, ranks 85th in a human-development index, just behind Saudi Arabia and just ahead of Sri Lanka.

With the world's highest longevity and high per capita income, Japan again ranks top in this annual index, prepared by the UN Development Programme.

South Africa is listed among a group of states with "medium" human development,

which includes Botswana, China, Cuba, Iraq and South Korea. Seychelles is the only state in South Africa's region to be ranked ahead of the republic, at 63.

Mahbub ul Haq, a former Finance Minister of Pakistan, led the team that prepared the report. Because of objections by several states to a "freedom index" that appeared in past reports, this was dropped from the latest one.

The difficulties arising from the preparation of a document of this scope and magnitude are apparent in the fact that while being ranked one ahead of South Africa, Saudi Arabia has been accused of violations of human rights, including slavery. Saudi women are still not allowed to drive cars. Yet the country has

escaped the opprobrium that South Africa has borne at the UN for years.

A box of information in the report about blacks in South Africa says they "continue to live in a world apart" as the white 5 percent of the population owns 88 percent of all private property.

"Half the population, mostly black, lives below the poverty line," it is stated. "Many poor black children are being stunted by malnutrition One third of the black population over 15 (some three million people) is illiterate."

The report says three-quarters of black teachers are either unqualified or underqualified, so the education system "perpetuates a vicious circle of deprivation and discrimination".

Ramsay Milne on a survey that measures quality of life around the globe

SA in some rich, selfish company

Star 28/6/73

THE United Nations produced a document this week that is perhaps the world's first measure of the quality of life around the world. Not surprisingly, South Africa does not fare well.

In its sampling of how countries rate in "human development" — which is based on an amalgam of a country's gross national product and its level of "human development", largely determined by educational levels — South Africa appears to be oddly coupled. Placed 11th among the 22 developing nations, South Africa is ranked along with Algeria, Saudi Arabia and the Arab Emirates.

On the face of things, that kind of company should not be scorned. But then one learns that the citi-

zens of these rich, oil-producing countries lead less satisfactory lives than their countries' per capita income suggests they should; indicating, as the report puts it, "that their wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few or is being mis-spent".

It is a telling criticism. The fact is, the petro-sheiks who rule the Arab oil states are not noted for their willingness to share their wealth with their subjects.

And what of South Africa? Well, what the UN report says of the oil-producing countries is almost exactly duplicated in what it says about South Africa — that is, that the country's wealth is inequitably divided among its citizens. That is hardly a surprise. Living standards among white South

citizens, a minority, are among the highest in the world. Living standards among blacks, a majority, are in general much lower.

To that extent, the report does not add much that is new. But it breaks new ground in its emphasis not on wealth itself, but on how well people live.

The treatment of women, for instance, radically alters the ratings of many countries who otherwise are highly placed on the UN chart. The survey found, in fact, that no country treats its women as well as it treats its men. When the ratings are adjusted for disparities between the sexes, Japan drops from first place to 17th among the industrialised nations and Canada from second to 11th, because women in these countries have

fewer job opportunities and lower earnings than men.

The notion that development efforts should be more closely tied to the needs of individuals did not originate with the United Nations Development Programme, authors of the survey.

Robert McNamara, then president of the World Bank, argued in 1973 against the prevailing idea that wealth in the developed countries would "trickle down" to the poorest sectors of society. Instead, he asserted, direct help must be funnelled to the 800 million people across the globe estimated then to be living in poverty.

Now, 20 years later, the UN has provided a measure of which countries are really trying and which are not. □

AFRICA

New sheen from southern touchstone

UNITED States President Bill Clinton's diplomatic recognition of the Angolan government last week has opened a new phase in the war which has devastated southern Africa.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi and his ally President Mobutu Sese Seko, of neighbouring Zaire, now face the most difficult choices of their careers: they can take the Idi Amin option and accept the lifeline offered by retreat to a comfortable government villa, probably in Rabat or Abidjan, or continue an ethnic war of attrition which could still lead to Savimbi's threatened "Somalia-isation" of his potentially wealthy country.

For the West and the South African military, Savimbi's defeat at the polls by the MPLA last year should have been a watershed. But, because Angola's future is the political touchstone for the whole region — from Kinshasa to Cape Town, from Luanda to Maputo — the West abetted one last clandestine effort to keep the MPLA from power.

Clinton's reversal last week came with recognition couched as a warning to all those in the region who believed that the West's new fashion for democracy in Africa was selective and that former US clients, from Savimbi and Mobutu to Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, could still play by the old violent rules.

The next test for the US is what it does on the ground in Angola and with the Kamina base in

With the reversal of US policy towards

Unita comes a clear warning to

southern African leaders who still want

to play by the old violent rules.

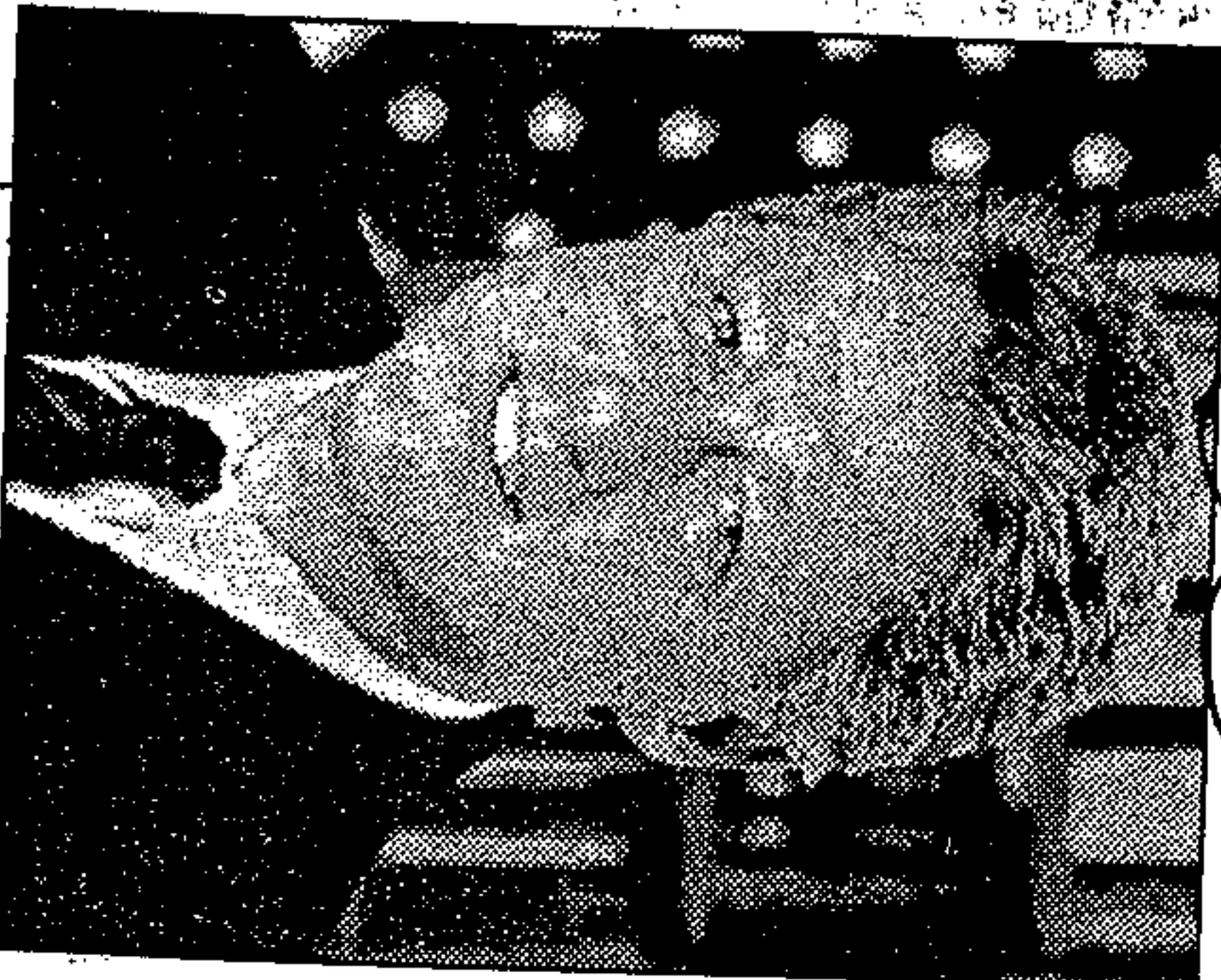
VICTORIA BRITAIN reports

southern Zaire, which was for years the centre for the CIA, Israeli and South African support for Unita.

Savimbi still has huge reserves of arms and ammunition, and control over the diamond areas which are funding the Zaire operations of his 50 000-man army. Fuel supplies are his weakest spot. US logistics could do much to help disrupt supply lines and will deter the South African network which started flying in men and material last October.

Washington has been on the verge of annulling US visas for Mobutu and considering, with France and Belgium, seizing his personal fortune, which may be worth as much as \$10-billion. Decisive action, and US support for the reformist Zairean government led by Prime Minister Etienne Tshisekedi, could end the kleptocracy which is responsible for the collapse of the state in Zaire, as well as for so much of Savimbi's logistics.

All Angolan men aged between 20 and 22 were called up last Friday for military service. In Luena, a town in the east of the country, 100 people were killed and wounded on the same



Decisive action ... Bill Clinton

Photo: AP

day. The wounded will almost certainly die, as Luena has been under siege by Unita for four months and is a paralysed and destroyed town.

The town's original population of 100 000 is swollen with uncounted thousands of refugees. Its embattled administration and small military force have no resources to maintain a semblance of order.

There is no economy, no money in the bank,

no electricity, no clean water, no medicines, few doctors, and food had practically run out a month ago before United Nations aid flights were stopped after Unita troops brought down a World Food Programme plane with a ground-to-air missile.

Luena's tragedy is the whole country in microcosm. Even Luanda, the capital, has been without regular electricity or water for months, hundreds of new cases of cholera are registered every week and inflation is rocketing.

After Clinton's move, it is now up to the UN to take the next logical step. For six weeks the credibility of the UN as overseer of the transition to peace has been mocked, as talks in Abidjan saw Unita officials refusing to accept either a ceasefire or the base line of the Bicesse Accord of May 1991, when they pledged to withdraw from the territory they occupy and to demobilise their forces.

The UN, like the Americans until this week, opted for the wooing and face-saving of Savimbi. In a travesty of justice the UN has overlooked or minimised Unita's strategy of violence in an effort to appear neutral between the two parties.

The policy backfired badly as it fed Savimbi's intransigence and allowed him to paralyse relief efforts. Now the UN can shift gear and, with US back-up, start a vast humanitarian supply programme which cannot be held to ransom by an insurgency condemned by the whole world. — The Guardian

UN reduces Star 216193 Angola team

UNITED NATIONS —
The Security Council decided yesterday to withdraw some of the UN monitors in Angola.

The council blamed Unita rebels for the failure of the accords.

The United Nations has 236 monitors and officials in Angola, but the Security Council accepted a recommendation to reduce their number "for the time being" to 194.
— Sapa-AP.

Four-day week could cut unemployment

NEW DELHI — Will a four-day work week help industrial nations curb growing unemployment and avoid layoffs? It's worth trying, says a top UN economist. *Buss. day 316193*

"Reduced working hours, innovative proposals for work sharing and redefining the very concept of work" were being considered by Western nations, said UN development programme head Mahbub ul Haq.

"Industrial nations may have to consider whether it is better for most people to work five days a week in order to benefit some people on unemployment benefits, or whether it is better for all people to work, say, four days a week," Haq said while releasing the UN's 1993 human development report last week.

His organisation was chronicling the quality of employment around the world. The report dealt with the quality of life and ranked countries on human development record — a yardstick combining life expectancy, educational level, availability of health care and basic purchasing power.

It ranked the US sixth after Japan, Canada, Norway, Switzerland and Sweden.

Haq, a former finance minister of Pakistan, said an alarming trend in developing countries indicated unemployment had been proceeding at about half the rate of the increase in the output of goods during the past three decades.

"Expanding unemployment benefits is no solution in a world without many jobs," he said. *(336)*

Developing nations were experiencing double-digit unemployment. They would have to create a billion new jobs this decade to absorb the growing reservoir of unemployed workers, the report said.

In Germany, from 1960 to 1987, total output of goods increased more than 2.5 times, but employment fell 9%.

Unemployment in the European members of the OECD rose from 3% in mid-1970s to about 10% in 1992. — Sapa-AP.

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Unemployment in the European members of the OECD rose from 3% in mid-1970s to about 10% in 1992. — Sapa-AP.

UN monitors to quit Angola

NEW YORK — The Security Council decided on Tuesday to withdraw some of the UN monitors in Angola two years after peace accords had raised hopes of ending one of Africa's bloodiest civil wars.

The council, by a vote of 15-0, blamed Unita for the failure of the peace accords and pledged continued UN efforts to settle the conflict.

The UN has 236 monitors and officials in Angola, but the Security Council accepted Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's recommendation to reduce their number to 194. The rest will stay until July 15, when it is hoped it will be clear whether they should all be sent home, or a new larger force should be sent to monitor a new peace accord.

UN-sponsored peace talks in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, collapsed last month. Since then, Jonas Savimbi's Unita has launched blistering attacks, further consolidating its military advantage over beleaguered government forces.

According to UN estimates, about 350 000 people have died in the war that broke out in 1975 following independence from Portugal.

Portuguese television reported yesterday that fire had broken out at the Kifukuena onshore oil storage tanks near Soyo in northwestern Angola, but the cause of the blaze was unknown.

The Soyo area was captured by Unita last week.

Because of fighting around Soyo, Kifukuena has been out of action since January. It normally handles about 25 000 barrels per day of onshore production by Petrofina and 65 000 barrels per day of offshore output by Texaco Inc of the US.

This was the first reported damage to oil installations in Soyo since Unita recaptured the onshore oil base on May 24.

Unita last week accused foreign oil companies in Soyo of helping the government's war effort and threatened reprisals against them, but it backtracked on Tuesday.

Diplomatic sources said that last week Unita forces in Soyo lobbed an artillery shell at Texaco's offshore platform. It landed 400m away. The sources said it appeared to have been a warning shot. Sapa-AP-Reuter.

United colours of Europe on the Beira road

By ANDREW MELDRUM

STYLISHLY equipped with sunglasses and the United Nations trademark blue berets, one thousand Italian soldiers have arrived in central Mozambique.

They speed along the Zimbabwe-to-Beira road in gleaming white Iveco armoured vehicles, brandishing Uzi sub-machine guns and state-of-the-art radio communications equipment.

With rations of imported pasta and freshly-baked pizza, the Alpine brigade from Turin is happily settling in for a six-month stay in the tropical plains surrounding Chimoio, midway between Zimbabwe and Beira.

"We are used to patrolling Italy's northern border in the Alps," said one Italian officer. "But we are getting used to this area of Mozambique, it is a bit like the time we served in Turkey. I think we can do a good job here."

The snazzy Italian brigade is doing more than making Mozambique safe for fettucine and olive oil. Their crucial task is to guard the 300km road, railway and oil pipeline connecting landlocked Zimbabwe to Beira's Indian Ocean port.

"They began without any experience in the Mozambican situation, which can be very tricky," said a British military source. "But beneath their flashy gloss, they're well-trained soldiers. They're quickly finding their feet in Mozambique and should carry out their mission well."

Additional UN brigades, from Uruguay, Japan, Botswana and Zambia, are guarding other important transport routes. Brazilian Major General Lelio Goncalves-Rodrigues da Silva commands the entire UN force in Mozambique.

Enthusiastic and energetic, the crack Italian force has made sure that traffic is safe along the strategic route.

Taxis and other vehicles now drive freely along the Beira road, as well as on secondary roads closed to traffic for years. But by late afternoon vehicles scurry for their destinations — there have been 16 night-time armed robberies along the road in the past two months, according to military sources.

"The Italians do a good job of keeping the road secure during the day, but at night the road belongs to anyone," said a Mozambican resettlement officer. The after-dark danger is posed by the many fighters, from both Renamo and the government, who are armed, poor and hungry.

The UN forces have maintained the ceasefire throughout the sprawling country, but neither of the warring sides, the government army nor the Renamo rebels, have been disarmed or demobilised. Nor has Renamo taken up its seats in the capital on the joint government/rebel commissions that are to oversee the peace process. Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama and his top deputies remain at their bush headquarters in Maringue near Mount Gorongosa in central Mozambique.

It is the lack of progress in disarming and demobilising Mozambique's two opposing armies that is most worrying. Neither the estimated 20 000 Renamo rebels nor the 40 000 government troops have assembled in camps and given up their weapons. Dhlakama has said his rebels will only demobilise when all the camps are open.

The major stumbling-blocks to the Mozambican peace process have come from Dhlakama's delaying tactics, and from the lack of a quick, decisive response from the UN in getting the peace plan going. In December last year the UN representative in Mozambique, Italian Aldo Ajello, persuaded the Security Council to agree to an ambitious UN mission to Mozambique with a budget of \$320-million and more than 4 000 military personnel and 3 000 administrative and monitoring staffers.

Ajello stressed the UN would not make the same mistakes in Mozambique that were committed in Angola. He said the election campaign would not begin until after all army and Renamo troops were disarmed and a new national army comprising fighters of both sides was established. Ajello's Onumoz (a Portuguese acronym for UN Operation in Mozambique) administrators are working to get all sides to agree to a new timetable for demobilisation and elections, which even the most optimistic say are not possible until mid-1994.

UN call for more local peace committees

336
APR 4/6/93
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — While good progress has been made in the formation of regional peace committees, the number of new local peace committees (LPCs) being established and maintained is disappointing, United Nations observer mission head Angela King has told a National Peace Secretariat chairmen's meeting.

Ms King said most of the regional and LPCs were also not representative of the local population mix, political viewpoints or community groups, women and youth.

"However, we have seen some positive development and commend those LPCs which are reaching out to involve non-signatories (of the Peace Accord) such as the PAC, the CP and Transkei in its structures," she said.

But some of the regional peace committees continued to function erratically.

"Decisions taken are subject to different interpretations, depending on the political philosophy of the parties or organisations most involved. These decisions then translate into directives that lack clarity and coherence for implementation by the National Peace Secretariat," Ms King said.

To compound this situation, the sec-



Ms Angela King

retariat of the peace committees was severely understaffed.

Inadequacies at the regional and local levels sometimes led to a tendency to rely heavily on the international observer mission's attendance at events.

"Our role is to support and assist — not substitute or replace."

Ms King suggested that peace structures consider upgrading the Peace Accord's code of conduct for political parties and adapting it to the needs of an election period and issuing and publishing Mr Justice Goldstone's guidelines for the conduct of marches as part of the Peace Accord.

She also suggested the setting up of a monitoring and evaluation unit to oversee and ensure implementation or recommendations of the peace structures.

(336)
**UN pulls
out Somalia
aid workers**
Star 7/16/93

MOGADISHU — The United Nations yesterday evacuated peacekeepers in Somalia after 22 UN troops and up to 23 Somalis were killed in fighting on Saturday.

Warlord Mohamed Farrah Aidid was blamed for the violence, which erupted as UN troops inspected sites where weapons taken from Somalis, in accordance with UN demands, are stored. The UN casualties were mostly Pakistanis, who recently replaced US Marines in Mogadishu.

A Pakistani army spokesman in Islamabad said 22 Pakistani soldiers were dead, 10 were missing and 50 wounded. Officials at Mogadishu hospitals said 15 to 23 Somalis died and more than 100 were wounded.

Witnesses at the scene said some of the missing peacekeepers were captured, tortured and killed.

● Full report - Page 4

Star 7/16/93

Rousing ovation for Roelf, Cyril

By Peter Fabricius
Washington Bureau

337

BOSTON. — Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa received an unprecedented standing ovation in Boston on Saturday when they stood together to receive honorary law degrees from the University of Massachusetts for their contribution to realising democracy in South Africa.

It was the first time a South African Cabinet Minister and a leader of the ANC had together been honoured in this way.

The large crowd of students, professors and Boston community leaders in America's premier education city abandoned academic decorum and rose to

their feet to acclaim the two key negotiators, who were the undisputed stars of the event.

The ceremony symbolised the international community's recognition of the convergence of views which resulted in last week's announcement of April 27 1994 as the date for the country's first democratic election.

Resplendent in red and blue academic gowns, hoods and black mortar boards, the negotiating pair stood together on the podium shaking each other's hands and basking in America's approbation.

They were told afterwards that not even popular actor Robert Redford — who recently received an honorary degree from the same university for environmental contributions —

had been given a standing ovation on graduation day.

Reading the citation to the South Africans, University of Massachusetts chancellor Sherry Penny called Ramaphosa an "able negotiator, masterful organiser and pivotal force within the ANC".

She called Meyer a "shining emblem" of a country which was struggling to achieve democracy and praised him for his tenacity and vision in leading the Government's negotiating team.

Meyer and Ramaphosa were both honoured in particular for their vital role in keeping the democratisation process alive by maintaining personal contact when formal negotiations broke off last year.

R10-million of UN cash 'unaccounted for'

□ 'Alleged fraud linked to exiles reintegration fund'

ARG 8/6/93 (336)

JOHANNESBURG. — Dockets concerning the disappearance of a large portion of the R55 million donated by the United Nations for the reintegration of returned South African exiles have been submitted to the Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand.

Mr P Stander of the A-G's office confirmed that "quite a few names" linked to alleged fraud at the now defunct National Co-ordinating Committee for Refugees (NCCR) had been submitted for investigation.

A total of R55 million was channelled through the NCCR by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) between 1991 and 1992, 80 percent of which was to be granted to returnees, said UNHCR mission head in South Africa Kallu Kalumiya.

The NCCR was established under the auspices of black liberation movements and religious bodies to administer the reintegration of former exiles.

The UNHCR terminated its agreement with the NCCR at the end of 1992.

An internal investigation into the NCCR found about R10 million of UN money unaccounted for, with alleged fraud by temporary NCCR staff and people posing as returnees involving about R500 000, said attorney Yasmin Sooka, a representative of a committee which formally dissolved the NCCR on April 1.

She said fraud dockets were opened in August last year after it was discovered that some employees had deposited money into their own bank accounts. A network of purported returnees who claimed grants on the basis of falsified United Nations voluntary repatriation forms was also uncovered.

Ms Sooka said the names of about 10 people had been submitted to the attorney-general's office for possible prosecution. This could not be confirmed by Mr Stander, as the prosecutor in charge of the investigation was out of town.

Ms Sooka said audits into NCCR books and an independent inquiry by two jurors were continuing. The probe by advocates Edwin Cameron of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at Witwatersrand University and Kgomo Moroka of the Black Lawyers Association was drawing to a close, she said.

Meanwhile, the UNHCR will this week begin processing one-off payments to former exiles who returned to South Africa in 1992 and who have not yet received their allowances, said Mr Kalumiya.

Qualifying returnees would receive R2 500 per adult and R250 per minor. — Sapa.

UN seeks killers of peacekeepers

Star 8/6/93 336
MOGADISHU — Heavy gunfire erupted in the centre of Mogadishu today as United Nations officials pondered how to bring to justice the killers of 23 Pakistani peacekeepers.

Helicopter gunships attached to the UN peacekeeping force clattered through the night sky after a fierce gun battle around K4, a battered roundabout normally guarded by UN troops.

The gunfight lasted about 15 minutes. Residents said it was impossible to see who was firing at whom in torrential rain and a city stripped of its street lights.

The shooting followed a day of tension and gunfire during which residents waited to see whether the UN would attack warlord Mohamed Farah Aideed, who has been blamed for the 23 deaths.

Pakistani troops shot dead two Somalis in a skirmish hours after the Security

Council demanded that the killers of the 23 Pakistanis be tracked down and brought to justice.

Aideed's radio station said UN troops killed 17 Somalis and injured 26 when they strayed down a road which had been sealed off by peacekeepers.

The radio station was itself the scene of Saturday's killings, some of the worst since the UN started peacekeeping operations.

UN envoy Jonathan Howe said the 23 Pakistanis were killed inspecting an arms depot at the station. Aideed said his men were attacked by the UN in an attempt to seize the radio.

The Security Council stopped short of blaming Aideed directly. It has been trying to bring him and other warlords into a federal style parliament to underpin peace since a United States-led force returned law and order to Somalia last December.

Confronted by a 30 000-strong international military force, Somalia's warlords agreed this year to store most of their heavy weaponry in designated sites open for inspection by UN teams. They also agreed to disarm their militias over a period.

There are fewer arms on Mogadishu's streets these days, but vast arsenals are believed to be hidden around the city.

Pakistan openly blamed Aideed for the killings.

"It is clear that this attack was a calculated and premeditated ambush instigated and conducted by criminals commanded by Aideed," said Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Mohammad Siddique Khan Kanju.

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali skirted the idea of Aideed's direct responsibility but said those responsible could be tried by a special tribunal.
— Sapa-Reuter.

SA jails clean but very violent, says study

Star 10/6/93

By Mike Littlejohn
Special Correspondent

336

NEW YORK — While significant reforms had been implemented and conditions improved in South African prisons, they remained places of extreme violence and the ratio of inmates to population was one of the highest in the world, says a new study.

The report by Human Rights Watch was issued ahead of the opening in Vienna next week of a United Nations conference on human rights.

In a letter addressed to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the authors of the report termed their findings, which covered several countries other than South Africa, "discouraging".

UN rules were being violated in virtually every state investigated. The group called for the creation of a UN body with a mandate to inspect prisons.

A Human Rights Watch team investigated prisons in South Africa last year and included Pretoria Central and Robben Island in their survey.

"The most striking feature of prison life in South Africa is its violence," their report said.

In a gang system, assaults occurred daily and sexual abuse was common while there was substantial evidence of collusion by ward-

ers, "even to the extent of instigating murder".

However, said the report: "South African prisons must be among the cleanest in the world." Those in the homelands were run down.

There was overcrowding as well as inadequate facilities throughout the system and, in the rural areas, little provision for outside visitors to see inmates.

Perhaps the most important result of political developments in South Africa affecting prisons was the release of large numbers of security prisoners and the repeal of racially discriminatory laws relating to the system, the report said.

Department of Correctional Services spokesman Colonel Barry Eksteen said the department was "fairly satisfied with the accurate and objective observations" by Human Rights Watch but some aspects of their report were misleading.

He said there had never been any evidence in a court of law of warders' collusion in the gang system, or that warders had instigated murder.

Also, considering South Africa's enormous prison population — about 110 000 with an annual turnover of 400 000 — the number of assaults was relatively low, Eksteen said.

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US shifts policy on UN

NEW YORK — The Clinton administration has begun a campaign to make Japan and Germany permanent members of the UN Security Council, a move likely to set off a free-for-all with other countries seeking the same status.

Any council reform that simply adds more wealthy and powerful nations to the council and omits the developing world is likely to run into major opposition.

In a speech to the Foreign Policy Association on Tuesday, the United States ambassador to the UN, Madeleine Albright, announced the new US policy shift. *Star 10/6/93*

"Previous administrations resisted Security Council expansion," she said. "The Clinton administration, by contrast, believes that both Germany and Japan should be made permanent members..."

The council has often been criticised for under-representing the more populous Third World in its permanent members and for overlooking major world powers such as Germany and Japan. — Sapa-AP.

Star 12/16/93

SA prisons have cleaned up their act, says UN report

NEW YORK — Though almost always a subject of criticism by international human rights groups for its treatment of prisoners, South Africa has received unexpected and generous praise by a UN-sponsored organisation.

Human Rights Global Watch says "significant reforms" have been made in South African prisons.

The report, submitted this week to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, hands South Africa one further bouquet: "South African prisons must be among the cleanest in the world," it says.

By contrast, even in relatively prosperous countries,

plumbing, which it describes as "an essential ingredient in a humanely run prison", is often faulty or entirely absent, it says.

In Britain, for instance, nearly 40 percent of jail cells have no plumbing, forcing prisoners to use plastic buckets as toilets or for washing, it points out.

The report, which attributes the improved conditions in South African prisons to the political changes that had taken place since 1990, was based on an investigation of prison conditions in South Africa in 1992 and 1993, during two visits by Human Rights Watch investigators.

Among the prisons visited

were Pretoria Central, Durban Westville, Robben Island, Pollsmoor, Modderbee and Brandvlei.

The investigators, however, tempered their praise for the improvements that had taken place with several criticisms, the sharpest of which were levelled at overcrowding in many prisons and prison violence.

The report points out that with 355 prisoners per 100,000 citizens, South Africa continues to have one of the highest prisoner-to-population ratios in the world.

"Many aspects of prison life remain depressingly unchanged from the years of official apartheid," the report says.

RAMSAY MILNE
Foreign News Service



"The most striking feature of prison life in South Africa is its violence. An elaborate gang structure operates throughout the prison system and riots between different gangs take place regularly, individual cases of assault occur on a daily basis and sexual abuse is common."

"There is substantial evidence of collusion by warders in the gang system, even to the extent of instigating murder. In addition, assaults by prison warders on prisoners occur frequently," says

the report.

Racial discrimination continues to play a role in the prison system, it says, adding that the most significant variations in physical conditions in South African jails are caused by different treatment for black and white prisoners.

Though apartheid in the prison system has formally ended and white and black prisoners are now held in the same prisons, whites often receive better treatment, ranging from housing in less crowded cells to greater access to training facilities and less onerous work.

In another aspect that drew favourable comment

by the investigators, the report says job training on "quite a sophisticated level" is available in some prisons, usually those that formerly housed only white prisoners.

Though US prisons were generally held to be adequate, the organisation points out that with a ratio of 455 prisoners per 100,000 inhabitants and with more than a million people behind bars, the US could claim "the dubious distinction of being among the world's leaders in both categories".

On any given day there are 1,300,000 inmates in US jails. More than 2,500 condemned persons are awaiting execution in the 36 states

that apply the death sentence.

Around the world, says the report, which was based on a six-year investigation, prison conditions, policies and practices "usually fall below the level of decency".

"From torture in a police lock-up to degrading conditions and abuse by guards and other inmates in a long-term prison, prisoners all over the world are abused in gross violation of their rights under international and domestic law, almost invariably without recourse or remedy."

Zaire, Malawi and Brazil are listed among the world's worst offenders.

Attack on Somalia imminent

MOGADISHU — Mogadishu airport was to close at midnight last night to all non-United Nations traffic, a UN military spokesman said yesterday.

It was the clearest sign yet that the UN was gearing up for a military strike against Somali gunmen held accountable for the slaying of 23 Pakistani peacekeepers last weekend.

"From midnight, we are closing the airport to non-UNOSOM (United Nations Operation in Somalia) aircraft," US Army Major David Stockwell told reporters. "It will remain closed until further notice."

In Washington, the Pentagon said the US aircraft carrier Wasp and three other ships with 2200 marines aboard had been ordered to leave the Persian Gulf and stand by in the Strait of Hormuz for possible movement to Somalia.

All flights of the UN Operation in Somalia, UNOSOM II, and of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) were being suspended in the Somali capital for an unspecified period, sources said in Nairobi, Kenya.

African Airlines, the only private company flying into Mogadishu from Nairobi, was also informed of the air traffic ban.

The airport is in the southern part of Mogadishu, held by General Mohamed



TENSE MOMENTS: Pakistani as difficult weekend. Reports indicate the whether Africa come

Aideed, who is widely accused of being behind an attack last Saturday in which 23 Pakistani peacekeepers were killed and 62 other UN troops injured.

Virtually all aid workers and UN civilian officials have been withdrawn from Mogadishu since the clashes.

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Diplomatic sources said that if there was a strike, it would probably be led by the US Quick Reaction Force of more than 1000 elite troops who remain under US command.

White House spokeswoman Dee Dee Myers on Thursday confirmed reports

also arrived, a battalion of about 130 men moving in from the southern town of Baidoha with four armoured personnel carriers to reinforce the mainly Pakistani troops.

UN military officials said they were ready to move against Aideed, but were

waiting for the green light from UN civilian officials.

The most likely scenario seems to be an air strike against Aideed's arms depots and compounds to avoid exposing UN forces to the perils of street battles, diplomatic sources said. — Sapa-AFP.



TAKING PIRATES BY THE HORNS: AC Milan in Airport yesterday. The Italian club champions

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ANC president Nelson Mandela another first when

that four US AC-130 Spectre gunships had been sent to Somalia.

The planes are heavily armed versions of the US Air Force's four-engined C-130 transport aircraft, and are packed with sophisticated computer equipment.

French reinforcements

ple!

1 (336) Star 12/1/15
Air ban points to UN

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TENSE MOMENTS: Pakistani troops in Mogadishu as they search house-to-house not far from where 23 peacekeeping troops were killed last weekend. Reports indicate the UN is gearing up for a military strike against the suspected gunmen. ● Photograph: ALEXANDER JOE, AP

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UN military officials said they were ready to move against Aideed, but were

waiting for the green light from UN civilian officials.

The most likely scenario seems to be an air strike against Aideed's arms depots and compounds to avoid exposing UN forces to the perils of street battles, diplomatic sources said. — Sapa-AFP.

to UN
raid

UN hits back in Somalia

By JONATHAN EWING
Mogadishu

UN FORCES, hitting back for the killing of 23 Pakistani peacekeepers, bombed weapons stores and a radio station, rounded up suspected gunmen and fired at protestors, killing a Somali yesterday.

They met scattered sniper fire but no major resistance from the militia of General Mohamed Farah Aideed, the Mogadishu warlord blamed by the UN for the deaths of the Pakistanis.

The UN forces also began house-to-house searches for General Aideed.

The Pakistanis were slaughtered last Saturday in what the UN said was a carefully prepared ambush.

But several hundred Somalis took to the streets after yesterday's military action chanting "Down with the UN" and "Down with US".

Witnesses said Pakistani troops fired on a crowd stoning a UN compound, killing a Somali and wounding two.

Military sources said the UN had taken more than 100 prisoners by midday, eight

hours after the attack began.

American AC-130 Spectres, carrying 105mm guns, carried out the main air attack before dawn, and the capital was quiet by the time the sun rose.

There were no reports of casualties among UN troops, but foreign residents feared an angry backlash.

"Why do you do this to us, we hate you," a young Somali shouted at several foreign journalists.

Osman Arto, General Aideed's chief financier, told journalists Somalis would fight back if the UN arrested his leader.

"They may have the better weapons, but we have the better motivation," he said.

The killing of the Pakistanis posed the first big test of the UN command in Somalia since taking over peacekeeping operations on May 4 from the US-led force that arrived in December to protect famine relief convoys from civil war looting.

The UN has about 18 000 troops from 24 countries in Somalia, including 4 000 from Pakistan. — Sapa-Reuter

● See Page 12

Exiles fiasco Si Times harms 13/6/93 UN role in SA

By SHARON CHETTY

SUSPECTED fraud by the now-defunct exiles' repatriation committee has hampered developmental work by the United Nations in South Africa.

A senior UN official said plans for a training centre, various projects run by the UN Children's Fund and further donations to exiles had been jeopardised by the disbandment of the National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of Exiles (NCCR).

The committee was disbanded late last year in the wake of fraud investigations against staff and claims by donors that funds had been abused.

The organisation — set up in May 1990 by religious, liberation and professional groups — was a conduit for funds from sources including the UN, European Community, foreign governments and international non-governmental organisations.

The UN donated R55-million to the NCCR, to be distributed through eight regional offices.

With the collapse of the NCCR, developmental organisations had no way of maintaining contact with exiles to help reintegrate them into their communities, said the official.

The official said there was great disappointment over the NCCR disbanding without fulfilling its role.

Fraud dockets involving at least 10 people were submitted to the attorney-general's office this week.

Call to destroy weapons

By JOHANNES NGCOBO

THE ANC and the PAC this week endorsed a call by the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa for the public destruction of all dangerous weapons confiscated by police.

UN political adviser Mr Muno Ndula called on police "to work out a programme to ensure that all dangerous weapons taken during police raids are destroyed in public". 13/6/93

Mr Ndula said: "For people to be convinced that all weaponry confiscated by police does not find its way back to killers who use them against unarmed communities, the arms should be destroyed in public." (254)

Confirming that police did not destroy all weapons seized in townships, an SAP spokesman in Pretoria said that some of the confiscated weapons were used by the police and other state departments. (336)

The spokesman said 9mm firearms were used, but AK-47s were destroyed. (574) (527)

SA declines UN invite

THE South African government has turned down an invitation by UN Secretary-General Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali to attend a nine-day human rights conference in Vienna.

The World Conference on Human Rights, which starts today, is being held under the auspices of the UN General Assembly.

"As South Africa (is) still denied participation in the activities of the

General Assembly, it would be premature to seek to take part in meetings arranged by that body," Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said in a statement at the weekend. CT 14/6/93

Mr Botha said he had received official invitations from Dr Boutros-Ghali and from the Austrian foreign minister. (336)

"The government had, however, decided not to attend," he said. — Sapa

Year ago by Walter Dine

336 ARG 11/6/93

SA turns down UN conference invitation

THE South African government has turned down an invitation by UN Secretary-General Boutros-Boutros Ghali to attend a nine-day human rights conference in Vienna.

"As South Africa is denied participation in the activities of the General Assembly, it would be premature to seek to take part in meetings arranged by that body," Foreign Minister Pik Botha said at the weekend.

The World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, which starts today, is being held under the auspices of the UN General Assembly.

Mr Botha said he had received official invitations from the UN Secretary-General and from his Austrian counterpart.

"But the government has decided not to attend," he said.

When South Africa's position in the General Assembly changed in future "South Africa will be in a position to take part in meetings ... without be-

coming embroiled in a controversy on the very question of participation", said Mr Botha.

But he called on participants, especially the advanced industrial democracies, to display sensitivity and understanding for the problems facing developing countries, in order that the highest degree of consensus could be achieved at the human rights conference.

He said human rights were too important to fall victim to political differences.

He also said South Africa had made great strides in human rights, citing the proposed draft Bill of Fundamental Human Rights for inclusion in the new Constitution.

Human rights, Mr Botha said, would form the cornerstone of relations between government and individual citizens in the new South Africa. — Sapa.

WASHAPLE China tries to soo

Report on local govt 'ignores business role'

B1 Day 17/6/93

SACOB said yesterday it was "gravely concerned" that the President's Council report on a new local government dispensation failed to recognise that business was a major contributor to local coffers, and would be affected most by revenue collection and expenditure decisions.

The council released the report yesterday, before its dissolution today.

It called for strong autonomous third-tier government combining primary local authorities and services councils in metropolitan and rural areas.

In a statement released yesterday Sacob said that while the council recommended formal participation for ratepayers' associations and civics, no mention of regular consultation with business was made.

Business could provide valuable information on how best to use scarce funds and other resources, the organisation said.

Sacob questioned the advisability of a dual ward and proportional representa-

GAVIN DU VENAGE

tion system in respect of primary local authorities.

Proportional representation at the local level would "unduly encourage party politics", Sacob said.

"We believe that a ward system, in which constituency representatives are directly accountable to the people who elect them, is fundamental to the success of local government," the statement said.

However, Sacob welcomed the council's endorsement of a wide range of options to be arrived at through negotiations, and its call for equal participation for all.

Sacob also supported the council's recommendations for a maximum devolution of authority, with the proviso that additional funds come from second and third tier government, for administrative rationalisation and a fair distribution of the tax burden.

Nonracial SA 'a top priority'

B1 Day 17/6/93

THE goal of a democratic, nonracial and united SA "is and must remain one of the highest priorities of the international community", UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said yesterday.

In a June 16 message to commemorate the UN's International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of SA, he urged all parties to make every effort to reach agreement on remaining issues, and called on them to do everything possible to facilitate the establishment of a broad-based government.

"One of the most immediate challenges which South Africans now face is the task of putting an end to the present widespread violence and disorder. Achieving this objective will re-

quire goodwill and courage as well as a strong determination by all parties.

"The creation of a peaceful political climate is essential if democracy is to take root and grow, and it is a vital precondition for meaningful progress in addressing the serious socioeconomic problems which SA now faces."

Boutros-Ghali said while the UN had confidence in the ability of South Africans to create a democratic and nonracial future, "we do realise the complexity of the situation in the country and we understand that the people of SA need the support and assistance of the international community".

He added the UN would continue to provide such support.

Sketching the already ex-

tensive involvement of the UN in SA, Boutros-Ghali said it was widely agreed the measures had had a salutary effect on the political situation in the country and had helped to advance the peace process.

He said the UN was committed to continuing such assistance until a democratic, nonracial and united SA was established.

"In a world full of conflicts and crises, recent developments in SA have been most encouraging. The peaceful resolution of the conflict... would be an encouraging example for others and an important lesson to all.

"Its benefits would be felt not only by the people of SA but also by millions of people far beyond SA's borders." — Sapa.



Innocent victims . . . weeping women carry one of the 14 civilians killed in Mogadishu by Pakistani troops as they protested against the US air strikes

PHOTOGRAPH: ALEXANDER JOE

COMMENT

In name of the UN stop it

Guardian/W in W/Mail

THE UN has stumbled very badly in Somalia, in an operation which was misconceived from the start. No matter how grievous the assault a week earlier on some of its peace-keepers, a revenge attack was not the answer. Predictably what had been billed as swift and precise action from the air has spattered messily into much more slaughter on the ground. President Clinton has claimed the intention to defend the effectiveness of peace-keeping elsewhere by acting decisively in Mogadishu. It will have entirely the opposite effect if the UN alienates and kills the people whom it is supposed to protect. 18/6-24/6/93

The UN special representative Jonathan Howe said that he "hoped it was not true" that the Somali people in Mogadishu had turned against the UN. Tentative hopes are not enough when dead bodies of unarmed civilians litter the local hospitals. It is useless to suggest, as UN sources were doing, that "allowances must be made" for the anger of Pakistani troops, 23 of whose colleagues had been ambushed and killed a week before. Any sensible strategy envisaging the use of air-power should have anticipated — as aid workers were warning last week — that the population of Mogadishu would become both frightened and angry. The cause

of General Aideed, the target of the raids, may actually have been advanced by the popular anger in the streets.

General Aideed, to no one's enormous surprise, escaped capture in the follow-up. The US ambassador to the UN then announced that "a whole series of ground-force actions . . . are contemplated in the future". Though conducted in the name of the UN, this was essentially another special operation from the same US team who gave us the "crippling of Saddam Hussein". Saturday's raid could even be watched live on CNN, with supplementary graphics depicting the state-of-the-art equipment of the AC-130H Spectre II Gunship. The deep flaws of a strategy based upon high-technology revenge have again been revealed. By agreeing to assign US forces to the UN structure in Somalia, rather than insist on separate command, Mr Clinton had previously adopted a more genuinely internationalist view of US participation in peace-keeping. But this operation will only encourage the suspicion to which less powerful countries are prone that the US and the UN are interchangeable. Mr Clinton invoked "the lessons of Desert Storm" in his first public comment on the raid. The US would continue to play "its unique role of leadership in the world . . .", he said, "through multilateral means, such as the UN, which spread the costs and express the unified will of the international community". That is a singularly unfortunate way of describing the relationship between Washington and New York which may be quoted in the future against the UN.

It is a grim irony that in this military field the UN is doing too

much in Somalia and not nearly enough in Bosnia. Of course the resort to quick and pseudo-surgical air strikes would be as disastrous against the Serbs as against General Aideed. In both cases what is needed is a unified strategy where military force, sparingly used, is properly geared to the political and humanitarian goals of peace-keeping intervention. Responsible aid agencies who have long been involved in Somalia are right to complain that the original aim has been obscured. The Security Council's resolution last week ordered an investigation, not retaliation. It should now call an immediate halt to this disastrous operation and think again.

Government help gives the system a flying start

EDI has been implemented successfully in several countries with strong financial backing from governments.

The Taiwanese Government has, for example, committed US\$220-million to getting the country EDI active over five years. The Government of the Netherlands has spent 40-million guilders to do something similar. Both governments want their countries to be economically competitive.

In South Africa the situation is a little more complex because of other priorities. However, the Government, through SITPROSA has been involved in the simplification of trade for some time.

SITPROSA represents both public and private interests in trade simplification.

With a limited budget, it plays the role of facilitator and adviser in the implementation of EDI. It runs courses, its officials attend conferences and advise businesses interested in EDI.

Standard

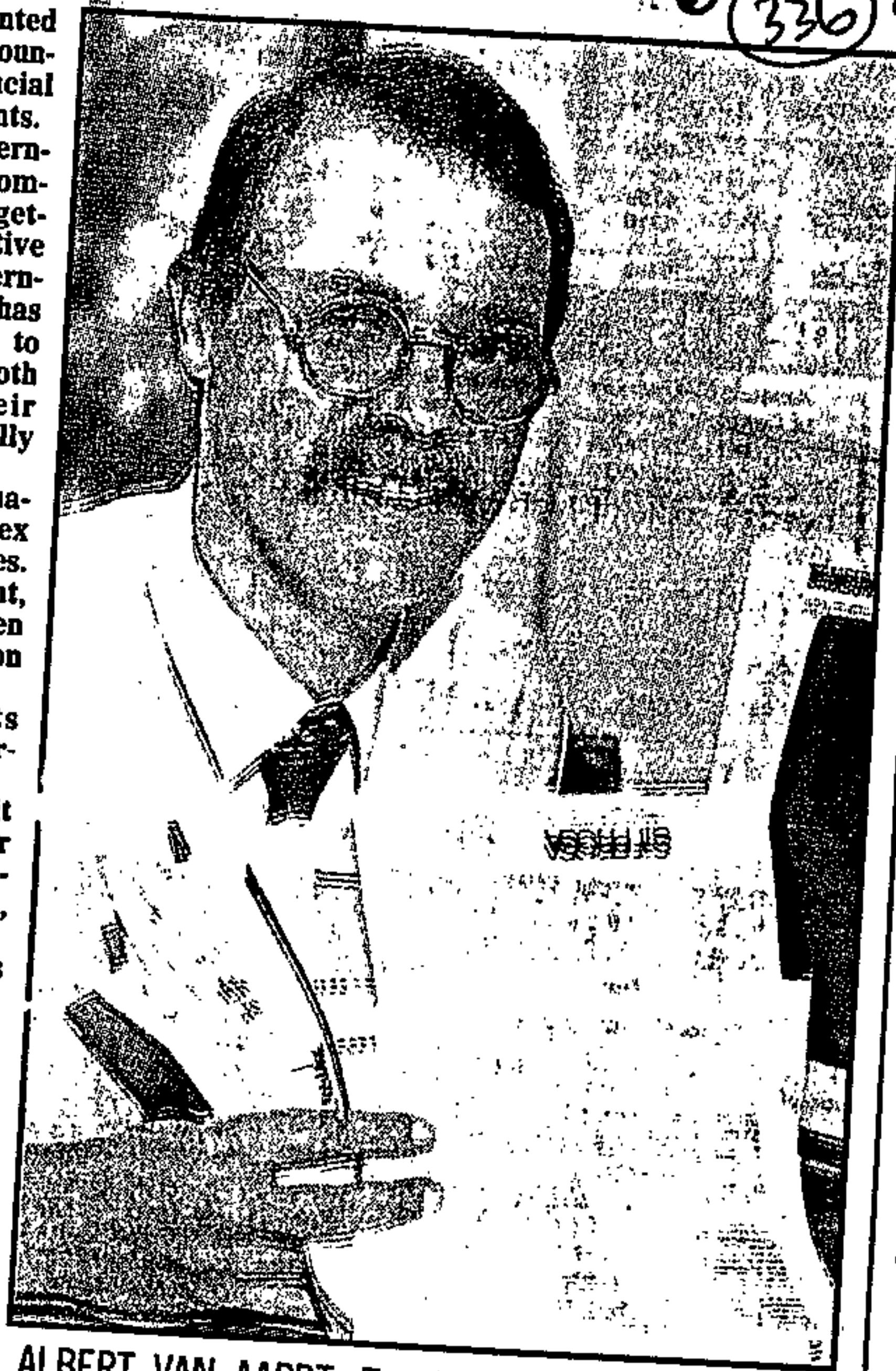
When EDI came to be recognised as a major way to simplify matters, the United Nations (through Economic Commission for Europe, Working Party 4) was asked to provide the international standards for EDI. Since then 126 messages have been published, plus rules and guidelines.

The standards being adopted in SA are largely based on those recommended by the UN and known as the EDI-FACT syntax (EDI for administration, commerce and transport).

It is a standard that can be used by all industries, in all vertical markets and is not limited in terms of application.

SITPROSA's role is two-fold: to represent SA at deliberations on the UN recommendations and to publicise and promote them in this country.

SITPROSA chief executive Albert van Aardt has been elected to what is believed to be the highest appointment of a South African



ALBERT VAN AARDT: Top job at the United Nations

in the UN to date. He is the vice-rapporteur of the new UN board to standardise EDI in Africa.

His election indicates more widespread acceptance of SA by the international community.

Mr van Aardt says: "This work is essential if South Africa wishes to keep abreast of other countries."

The subcommittee for EDI (EDISC), which falls under the SABS Technical Committee for Information Technology, is made up of representative organisations. They range from mining, chemicals, health care, retailing and freighting to government bodies.

The SABS along with SITPROSA and SAANA (SA Ar-

ticle Numbering Association) have formed working groups to develop messages for specific industry sectors where no international messages exist or where UN standard messages are not suited to the SA environment.

Once the working groups have standardised messages, they are approved by the subcommittee and eventually published as recommended practice.

The manager, electronic engineering and physics, standards, at the SABS, Wojtek Skowronski, says: "At this stage we are publishing them only as recommended standards because things are changing so fast that we must be able to review and update them."

Vanguard is out to break barriers

THE South African Vanguard Initiative is a non-profit organisation devoted to promoting economic development, productivity and international competitiveness through the use of value-added and data services.

The first stage of the Vanguard Initiative was to identify the needs of value-added data services, to quantify them and identify the funding.

Steering committee chairman Rob Peacock says: "In other countries similar initiatives have been largely government backed."

Role

"But in this country it is up to private industry to develop strategies to promote international product distribution and domestic productivity through the implementation of electronic trading."

"Until now EDI communities have been evolving vertically with little cross-industry pollination. But eventually there has to be communication horizontally among different industries. It is our role to facilitate the breaking down of industry barriers."

The Vanguard Initiative is putting together a project plan which includes a promotional campaign, training scheme and consultancy.

"Similar campaigns have worked overseas and with sufficient funding we plan to implement them here," says Mr Peacock.

Government help gives the system a flying start

St. Times (Buss) 20/6/93

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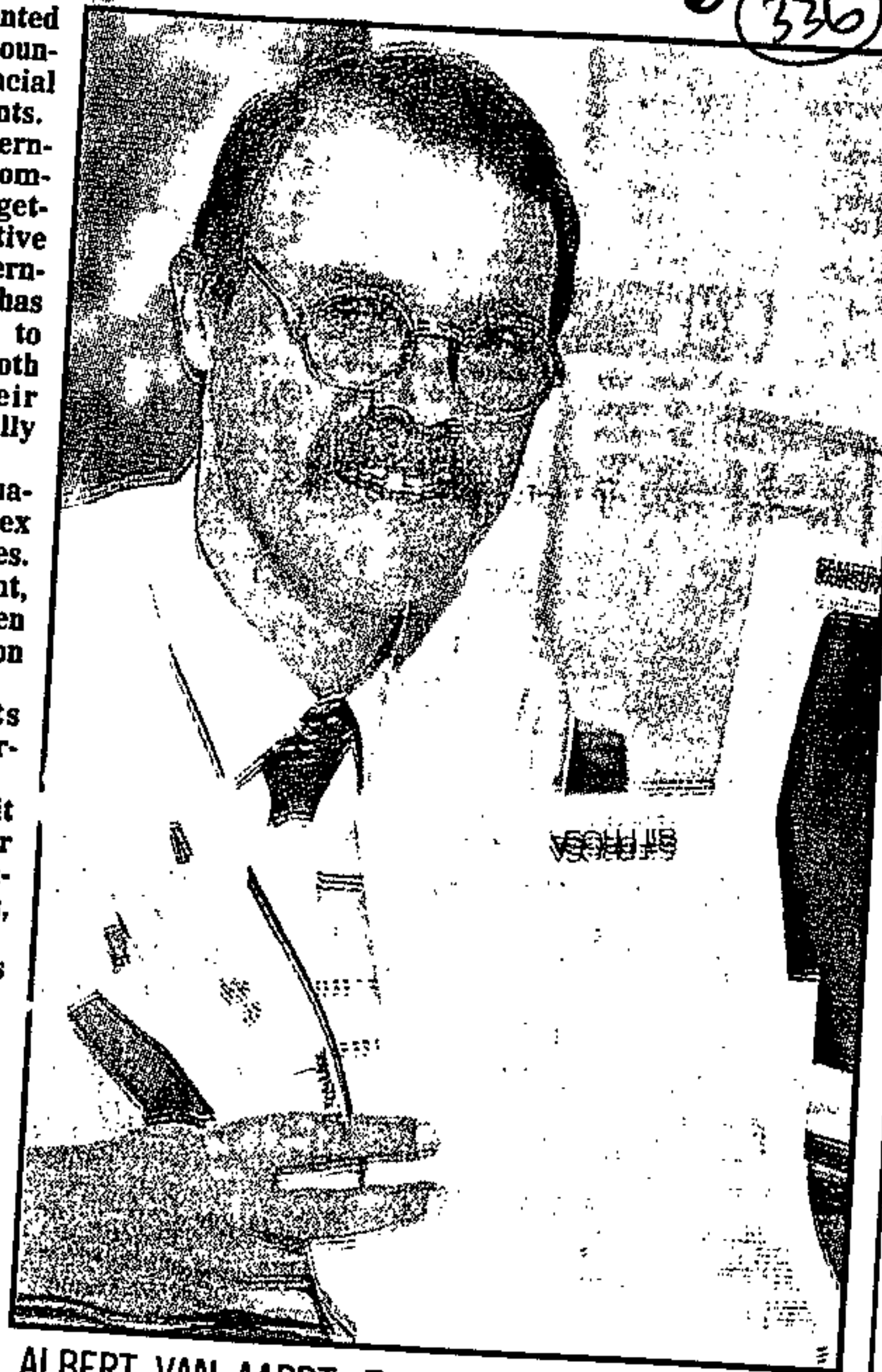
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Mogadishu battles are sowing seeds for future conflict, writes Karl Maier

UN creating a murderous martyr

Star 2/16/93

(336)

THE crackdown on General Mohamed Farah Aided and his militiamen by United Nations forces in Mogadishu runs the risk of greatly expanding his popularity beyond its clan base and, if he is captured or killed, sowing the seeds for future conflict in Somalia.

Considered by many of the capital's residents as a murderer's warlord before the launching of the US-led, UN Operation Restore Hope last December, Aided is capitalising on the current UN persecution to become the champion of Somali opposition to foreign occupation, according to some Somali analysts.

"Aided becomes the most visible symbol of Somali resistance," said Rakiya Omaar, Somali director of the London-based human rights group Africa Rights.

Aided, a former military officer and ambassador to India, was

instrumental in overthrowing the government of Mohamed Siad Barre in his role as military commander of the United Somali Congress, which represented the Hawiye clan now dominant in Mogadishu. He was widely expected to take power until a former restaurant owner and leader of the rival Abgal sub-clan of the Hawiye, Ali Mahdi Mohamed, attempted to pre-empt him.

That resulted in a civil war in Mogadishu that ripped apart the Hawiye down the lines of Ali Mahdi's Abgal and Aided's Habr Gabir sub-clan, killed tens of thousands of people, and left the centre of the capital in ruins.

Unemployment, poverty and fear of retribution by rival clan factions, especially Siad Barre's Darod people, rallied hundreds of Habr Gabir men around Aided.

Aided has remained hostile to the UN, which he feared would de-

prive him of power by taking over the country. His supporters staged a demonstration against the visit of UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali in January. But he supported the US-led intervention from the outset, in part realising there was little he could do against such firepower, and in part because the US forces carried out disarmament haphazardly. When the US forces handed over to the UN six weeks ago, Aided's radio station stepped up its anti-UN propaganda.

The main beneficiaries of this week's UN assault on Aided's forces were expected to be the other warlords, such as Ali Mahdi and General Mohamed Siad Hersi Morgan, military leader of the Darod people, who have not yet been disarmed. It could also complicate future peace efforts. "How can you have political reconciliation if not all the warlords are dis-

armed?" said Omaar of Africa Rights. "It will be totally unbalanced."

Should the drive against Aided be successful it could encourage his rivals to attack not only the remnants of his militia, but also to take retribution against civilians of his sub-clan. Besides Ali Mahdi's Abgal, the Murasade sub-clan of the Hawiye has continued to skirmish with Aided's fighters.

Not surprisingly, supporters of Ali Mahdi, who control most of northern Mogadishu, are pro-UN. Morgan's forces have scored impressive gains in recent months, most spectacularly the capture of the southern port of Kismayu from Aided's ally Colonel Omar Jess in March, despite the presence of Belgian and US forces in the area. — The Independent News Service. □

Somalis in anti-US demo

Sowetan 22/6/93
MOGADISHU — Hundreds of Somalis staged anti-United Nations and anti-US protests yesterday as food aid distribution resumed under tight security in the stronghold of warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid.

Demonstrators shook their fists at UN helicopters overhead and screamed hatred of US President Bill Clinton, as just offshore four US ships carrying thousands of marines lay at anchor as UN forces planned Aidid's capture.

Sports stadium

While the demonstrators threw up barricades and spilled across the road outside a wrecked sports stadium, thousands of destitute women and children queued.

They stood a few kilometres away for rations of wheat supplied by aid agencies for the first time since five Pakistani peacekeepers were killed at a food distribution point on June 5.

"Down with Bill Clinton, down with

(UN Secretary-General) Boutros Boutros-Ghali, down with (UN Somali force) Unosom", chanted the demonstrators, protesting against the attack on Aidid's headquarters last Thursday.

UN special representative Jonathan Howe has ordered Aidid's arrest over the June 5 killings of a total of 24 Pakistani peacekeepers, allegedly by Aidid's militiamen.

Food distribution

Pakistani troops were out in force yesterday at the food distribution centres.

They were surrounding them with coils of razor wire, armoured vehicles, truckloads of blue-helmeted soldiers and guards stationed on rooftops.

"Everything is going absolutely fine," said Major Farrukh Hussan, commander at a distribution point close to the K4 roundabout where Pakistani troops killed some 20 demonstrating Somalis on June 13.

"There is no hatred," he said, referring to the June 5 attack on Pakistani forces. "That was a small group.

"The poor people had nothing to do with it."

An aid worker watching the distribution said the suspension of the daily food handout had caused serious hardship to the refugee families.

Sticks and sacks

These families live in hovels made of sticks and sacks and plastic on wasteland throughout the derelict city.

"They cannot really survive without the dry rations, they will have been begging and scavenging," he said.

Civil war

Some 350 000 Somalis are believed to have been killed by civil war and famine following the overthrow of dictator Mohamed Siad Barre in January 1991.

— Sapa-AFP.

Asylum rules are tougher and strictly enforced, reports Leonard Doyle

Europe shuts out political refugees

See 23/6/93.

(336)

WESTERN Europe is in the process of being declared off-limits for political refugees. It is being done through an increasingly strict interpretation of international asylum rules allowing governments to return asylum-seekers to the countries they pass through, and by heavy fines on airlines which accept passengers — even those seeking political asylum — without adequate visas.

possible for people in need of protection to seek asylum in Europe". At the same time the numbers of asylum-seekers being expelled have increased dramatically as the richest European countries have set up what amounts to a *cordon sanitaire* of "safe" countries around them to which refugees can readily be returned. Eastern European countries, with no tradition in handling political asylum cases, have now become vast clearing centres for tens of thousands of people fleeing oppression or seeking to improve their lives.

The draconian policies led to a decrease in the numbers of people seeking refuge in seven European countries last year. By banning those who first

passed through another "safe" country, as permitted under the 1951 United Nations convention, these countries are ensuring that the only way a political refugee can get in is by air. That avenue has also been closed by imposing fines of up to R75 000 on airlines that accept passengers without fully checking their status.

The impact of the strict new policy is most apparent in Britain where the numbers of asylum-seekers decreased by nearly half from 44 753 in 1991 to 24 600 last year, according to the European Consultation on Refugees and Exiles, a non-governmental organisation. — The Independent News Service. □

AFRICA NEWS UN moves against Somali warlord • N

Reward for Aidid

THE UNITED Nations is offering a reward for the capture of fugitive Somali warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid, UN sources said yesterday.

They said helicopters were dropping thousands of leaflets over Mogadishu promising an unspecified sum for information leading to the arrest of Aidid, who went underground last Thursday.

Aidid resurfaced on Tuesday to give a televised interview to NBC News, the American news organisation, in which he denied guilt in the June 5 killing of 24 Pakistani peacekeepers.

AIR DROP But leaflets don't say how much will be paid: *Sowetan 24/6/93*

The UN accuses him of masterminding the ambush and of holding large quantities of arms in contravention of peace agreements he signed under UN auspices.

It ordered his arrest last Thursday and UN officials said he could be tried for war crimes.

Tunisian and American troops killed

two Somalis when a Tunisian contingent came under fire at its compound in Mogadishu university complex on Tuesday night, they said.

The US Quick Reaction Force, which reinforces the 18 000-strong UN force in Somalia, sent helicopters to the scene and destroyed a "technical" battle wagon, the sources say. — Sapa-Reuter.

C

Amnesty derides rights talks

Guardian/W in W/Mail

Ian Traynor in Vienna 25/6-17/93

THE head of Amnesty International has denounced the biggest international conference on human rights in decades as a hugely expensive waste of time and money. Western officials, however, claimed the issues of justice, decency and rights were being pushed up the global agenda.

Pierre Sane, the Senegalese secretary-general of Amnesty, said the current Vienna meeting would do little more than reaffirm United Nations human rights declarations of 1948.

"They have spent time, energy, money to reopen issues that were closed 50 years ago. It's a sham," Mr Sane said. "This is a total flop."

The two-week UN World Conference on Human Rights, bringing together 160 countries and more than 1,000 pressure groups from all over the world, was three years in the making and opened here a week ago.

It ends this week with the expected adoption of a declaration that is to sum up the achievements of the conference and set the agenda for international action on rights and liberties.

Mr Sane accused the delegates of fiddling at taxpayers' expense while many parts of the world burned, likening the eruption of local conflicts fuelled by nationalism and territorial claims to the run-up to the second world war.

AFRICA



Murky zone ... Somali children play merry-go-round with a wrecked anti-aircraft cannon
Photo: AP

And it is into this ill-charted legal ground that the UN is now stumbling, not only in Somalia, but in its decision to establish war-crime tribunals for the former Yugoslavia.

The paradox is clear. In Balkan war-crime tribunals, the UN has some legal right and the precedent of the Nuremberg trials of the Nazis on its side, but no visible enforcement mechanism. In ordering the arrest of warlord Aideded, the UN forces have the force they need, but a legal case that is novel, unproven and confused.

The UN is following the dubious lead of successive United States governments. In the invasion of Grenada, on the claim that American medical students had to be protected, in the bombing of Tripoli,

Testing the lin

after being persuaded by intelligence reports that Libya was behind the terrorist bombing of a Berlin night club, and in the invasion of Panama, to topple General Manuel Noriega and bring him back to a narcotics trial, US understanding of the distinction between might and right has been cavalier at best.

Legal authority without the power to enforce it, which is what is happening in the UN's call for war-crime trials in the Balkans, brings legality into disrepute. But the deployment of raw power without legal sanction, which is the state of affairs in Somalia, is the essence of anarchy.

The UN is operating in Somalia without legal precedent. It has never before intervened in the internal affairs of a member state without invitation, but there is no Somali government to offer one. It is in this new situation that the UN can begin thinking about rather firmer legal ground.

First, it could, and probably should, establish a formal UN protectorate, to take temporary respon-

W/17 and
The United Na
for internation

Second, it can reveal international communities of dangerous anarchists was the High Seas, Professor Robert national law, notes by a captured pirate committed the crime treated under international the right to try some Goldman argues tried by any government

AFRICA

the limits of might versus right

W111111 25/6 - 1/1993

The United Nations' pursuit of Somali warlords will establish important precedents for international rules of decent behaviour in civil wars. By MARTIN WALKER

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sibility for the country until responsibility can be transferred to a Somali transitional government with the power to hold elections.

Second, it can remember the other time when the international community had to deal with a situation of dangerous anarchy with no ruling authority. The time was the 17th and 18th centuries, the territory was the High Seas, and the danger was piracy.

Professor Robert Goldman, a specialist in international law, notes that any country has the right to try a captured pirate, no matter where the defendant committed the crimes. Crimes against humanity are treated under international law and any country has the right to try someone accused of such crimes.

Goldman argues that the Somali warlords may be tried by any government for breach of universal law

— using regulations under the Geneva Convention which prohibit the purposeful starvation of the civilian population as a means of combat.

"Starvation as a means of combat is clearly prohibited under international law as a crime against humanity," he says. "This is one of the most clear-cut examples of someone who has used starvation to murder people."

There are two practical problems. First, this could open the door to an unmanageable number of cases — for instance, in Angola or Bosnia.

The second problem is the case of Aideed, who appears to be one of several Somali warlords using the food weapon, but whose crucial offence seems to have been the ambush which led to the slaughter of 23 Pakistani UN troops. Will he be charged with

authorising a deliberate policy of starvation, or with conspiracy to murder UN troops, or both?

Despite the order of special UN representative Jonathan Howe for the arrest of Aideed, officials in New York have yet to come up with details about the possible venue and procedure for any trial.

But Howe, a retired US admiral who is in charge of the UN operation in Somalia and thus blurs a little further the distinction between UN law and American power, has announced that charges against Aideed could include "crimes against humanity" in the form of the wanton killing of civilians.

US officials speculate that the UN has three choices: to arrest Aideed and try him within the feeble Somali legal system; to arrest him and hold him until the Somali legal system is strengthened; or to try him in a UN war-crimes tribunal. The US administration has insisted the UN must decide.

Goldman sees no reason to prevent the Security

Council from creating a UN-sanctioned tribunal soon to try Aideed and the other warlords.

"There are a lot of constitutional and legal scholars who would find difficulty with that," said Dick Thornburgh, a former US attorney general. "These are very, very murky waters. But let's face it, this would be a political act, and international law is more politics than law."

That is the point. While legal scholars try to extend the authority of international law to establish some clear rules and penalties in these murky areas, the dependence of law upon the mechanisms of enforcement turns the entire debate back to the deeper murk of a UN that is increasingly dependent on American military power.

With the American readiness to use its capacity to deploy swift and overwhelming air power to protect UN troops, the US armed forces are becoming the UN's enforcer of last resort. In return, the UN may become America's legal longstop.

The case of The World versus Farah Aideed could establish an important precedent for the rules of decent behaviour in civil wars and anarchy. The unholy alliance of might and right has some curious offspring. — The Guardian

Peacekeeping role is becoming more interventionist, writes Stanley Uys from London

UN dilemma of might v right

Star 25/6/93.

336

THE other day I crossed the Green Line in Cyprus that has divided the Greek-controlled south from the Turkish-controlled north since the Turkish invasion in 1974. No Greeks or Turks are permitted to cross this "Berlin Wall", but foreigners may cross for the day.

The crossing point is in the capital Nicosia. Between the Greek and Turkish border posts is the short strip of no-man's land where the UN peacekeeping force has its headquarters, in the bullet-scarred Ledra Palace hotel.

Cyprus is one of the many countries where UN peacekeeping forces are stationed. They are still peacekeepers in the familiar sense of the term, but the UN role is changing rapidly. Increasingly, its forces are becoming interventionist, as in Bosnia and Somalia.

I have touched on this subject before: the concept of the UN as the world's policeman, shaking an admonishing finger at governments and warlords who go too

far, and sending in troops, fighter aircraft and bombers where the situation dictates.

The transition is still somewhat tentative at this stage, but the development is unmistakably there.

UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali went to the heart of this development when, addressing the World Conference on Human Rights earlier this month, he warned that the cloak of national sovereignty should not be used as a cover to perpetrate human-rights abuses unchecked.

Regional and international organisations, he said, had the right to intervene to protect people from governments violating their rights.

"The international community must take over from the states that fail to fulfil their obligations," he said.

"Where sovereignty becomes the ultimate argument put forward by authoritarian régimes to conceal their abuse of men, women and children, such so-

vereignty is already condemned by history. We cannot let cultural relativism become the last refuge of repression."

The conference, bringing together 5 000 delegates from 160 countries and more than 1 000 human-rights pressure groups in the biggest such gathering for 25 years, grappled with the very idea of human rights, whether there are universally valid prescriptions, and what should be done to enforce their observance.

This is the way the world is moving.

Two problems arise and one is the legality of intervention. The UN is operating in Somalia without legal precedent. It has never before interfered in the internal affairs of a member state in this way without invitation.

The legal case in Somalia, as one writer observes, "is novel, unproven and confused". But this has not prevented intervention, and as Dick Thornburgh, a former UN under-secretary-general and for-

mer US attorney-general under President Bush, remarks: "International law is more politics than law."

A US specialist in international law, Professor Robert Goldman, contends that crimes against humanity are treated under international law, and any country has the right to try someone accused of crimes against humanity no matter where the offences were committed.

The Guardian newspaper reports that Goldman sees no reason to prevent the Security Council from creating a UN-sanctioned tribunal to try Somali warlords, if and when they are captured.

The other problem is that the UN lacks an established enforcement mechanism. Clearly what is happening — at least for the present — is that the US's armed forces will be the UN's enforcer of last resort.

A considerable debate has started on whether the UN should have a permanent enforcement arm

(Britain's Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd has indicated support for such a move). The question of might and right could then be put on a more legitimate basis.

There is a cautionary tale in all this for South Africa's white right-wingers. If they impose their will on the country, either directly through military action or indirectly through using selected politicians to block President de Klerk's reforms, they will not escape international retaliation.

Military intervention by the UN is not the issue. What a right-wing seizure of power in South Africa would achieve — however it is camouflaged — would be to draw the threads of the international crusade on human rights together and give the movement an immediately more definable form and consensus.

There will be no dissenters on this score. The crusaders will seize on a right-wing takeover of power in South Africa as a way to bring together a fumbling, groping

worldwide movement and give it a psychological cohesion and direction that very few other issues could achieve — at precisely the moment when it needs it.

Intervention probably would take the form of bringing back sanctions, but the form is almost irrelevant. What the white right wing should recognise is that a new, historic development is in the making, and if they are not careful their heads will be the first to be placed on the chopping block.

They should take particular note of what happens at Philadelphia on July 4, when President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela are due jointly to receive the freedom medal.

President Clinton is expected to signal that apartheid finally is dead and that South Africa can return now to the international community, and the occasion will be an event of enormous symbolism.

Let Cosag put this in its pipe and smoke it. □

Human rights move falls short

8 Times 27/6/93. 336

By STEVE PAGANI in VIENNA

MORE than 160 nations hailed a new declaration on human rights adopted in Vienna this week as a historic document that will give hope to people across the world, but activists said it would do little to end the suffering of millions of abuse victims.

Delegates to the UN World Conference on Human Rights adopted the document on Friday after two weeks of debate overshadowed by the war in Bosnia — less than 400km from Austria's borders.

"We leave Vienna with the accomplishment of hope... and understanding that the commitment has been laid for future progress," conference secretary-general Ibrahima Fall of Senegal told delegates.

Despite hours of haggling over the 32-page document, negotiators failed to agree on the most controversial issue of establishing a UN human rights commissioner with the power to report an individual state for violations to the UN Security Council.

To save further delay in issuing the final declaration, the conference passed the controversial issue on to the next session of the General Assembly.

The idea of a UN High Commissioner for Human Rights was strongly backed by the United States, the European Community and Japan, but developing nations argued that the time was not right.

Despite reservations, US chief delegate John Shattuck said the conference had "produced a strong, forward-looking document that reaffirms the universality of human rights and

the basic principles my country has stood for".

Killing and continued "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia hung over the conference like a cloud. In a moving speech Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic pricked the conscience of many delegates

by describing horrors taking place in his country while nations were extolling progress in human rights.

Delegates agreed to send a resolution to the Security Council, and Silajdzic's pleas for action were taken up by Islamic nations who

threw the conference into disarray on Thursday by forcing a vote on a special declaration on Bosnia.

Most Western nations abstained, unhappy over the call to lift an arms embargo against the Muslim-led government. Some delegates said privately they doubted whether any of it would make any difference.

Rights meeting ends in split

Guardian / W in W / Mail

(336) (2)

Ian Traynor in Vienna

THE largest international human rights conference in decades ended last week after a bruising battle over whether new United Nations agencies should be created and empowered to enforce observance of rights worldwide.

After a lengthy and acrimonious row, pitting the West against a group of hardline Asian and Arab nations, the issue was shelved by passing it to the UN general assembly.

27-8/7/93
Western delegates insisted that, taking into account the difficulties of

achieving consensus at a meeting of 170 countries, the final declaration marked a step forward in seeking to move human rights higher up the international agenda. But leading lobby groups said that the high hopes vested in the conference had been dashed.

The conference secured progress on various contentious issues by strongly attacking violence against women, endorsing rights of indigenous people and children, and reaffirming that rights are universal despite Arab and Asian attempts to stress factors of culture, region and tradition.

UN arms embargo threat faces Unita

B1 Day 15/7/93

NEW YORK — The UN Security Council will threaten Unita with a worldwide arms embargo unless it honours peace accords by September 15, according to a draft resolution being considered yesterday.

The resolution, expected to be adopted later in the week, renews the mandate for the small UN Angola Verification Mission (Unavem) until September 15.

The draft calls on Unita and the Angolan government to restart, as soon as possible, talks on establishing a ceasefire and implementing peace pacts.

Unita took up arms after it lost elections last October, contending they were fraudulent. It controls most of the countryside.

In an apparent effort to pressure Unita, the draft says the Security Council would be ready to impose sanctions "on the sale or supply to Unita of arms and related materiel and other military assistance to prevent Unita from pursuing its military actions".

The move towards sanctions would be dropped if Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali reported by September 15 that an effective ceasefire was in force and that agreement had been reached on "full implementation" of peace accords signed

in Lisbon in May 1991.

It was not certain what impact an arms embargo would have. Some weapons are delivered by mercenaries involved in the civil war. Angola is also rich in diamonds, other minerals and oil. (336)

Unita was once supported by successive conservative US administrations and SA, while Russia and Cuba helped the leftist government.

The Clinton administration recently recognised the Luanda government.

Unavem has been reduced to 45 civilian staff members, 50 military observers, 18 police observers and 11 military paramedics spread across five locations.

In a report to the Security Council, Boutros-Ghali said humanitarian assistance was needed and urged Unita to allow access to several besieged cities.

Unita said on Tuesday it had signed an accord with UN officials for aid to be delivered to Huambo, Bie province, the central towns of Luena and Jamba and the southeastern town of Mavinga.

An emergency UN aid programme began on June 21 but Unita denied access to the cities of Cuito, Menongue and Malange. The government then suspended aid flights until secure conditions were established. — Sapa-Reuter.

Namibia calls for UN help in Angola

THE UN should establish a presence in Angola, said Namibian Foreign Affairs Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab at a meeting with Security Council members this week.

He also called for the international community to start thinking about the war-battered country's reconstruction.

He said Angola had suffered massive destruction of cities, its economic infrastructure, mines, public utilities, hospitals and schools. And reconstruction would go a long way to convince the warring parties that there was a better future in peace.

Mr Gurirab added that the Security Council should also take strong and effective measures to deny Unita arms.

He said the international community should realise that the Unita leadership was prepared to sit the UN out, adding that Unita leader Jonas Savimbi had distinguished himself as the only obstacle to peace. —

Sapa-Reuter

2
BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, August 3 1993

SA role in Africa crucial, says UN

B/Day 3/8/93

PATRICK BULGER

THE UN yesterday took another step towards reintegrating SA into its African economic development planning, warning that only co-operation between SA and the rest of Africa could halt the continent's marginalisation.

UN Economic Commission for Africa (Uneca) senior regional adviser Prof Sam Asante told a development conference outside Johannesburg that Uneca was poised to collaborate with SA experts, technocrats and democratic institutions in Africa's economic recovery.

The Towards a Development Strategy for SA workshop has been convened by Uneca and several local research institutes. SA has been excluded from Uneca since 1965 and was the subject of a 1989 Uneca report which criticised its destabilising role in southern Africa.

Asante said Uneca had established a special southern Africa desk and task force to focus attention on the changes and challenges in the region.

"The need for co-operation between Africa and SA, the need to think together, act together and build together has never been so compelling as it is today, when viewed against the background of the profound changes taking place in the international environment," he said.

The emergence of world trading blocs had created for Africa and SA the challenge of drawing up a joint strategy for the

'90s and beyond. A growth strategy depended on self-reliant and self-sustaining development, human resource development, the aggressive pursuit of economic reforms aimed at growth with poverty reduction, reversing environmental degradation, realising the central role of women in African economies, nurturing grassroots development organisations and stressing regional economic co-operation.

"The reintegration of SA into the African regional economy will have a tremendously positive impact and challenge that will contribute towards fundamental change and transformation," Asante said.

Pretoria University vice-chancellor Flip Smit, who is Council for the Africa Institute of SA chairman, warned that SA should not expect too much from a peace dividend, either in terms of additional financial resources or the addressing of socioeconomic backlogs in the short to medium term.

He said Africa and SA had for too long relied upon natural resources. It should use these to create a competitive advantage which required investing in science, technology, education and training.

Finally, it was important to create a suitable policy environment and macro-economic stability.



UN PRESENCE: The United Nations in action during the Namibian elections in 1990

UN waiting for SA invitation

South 2018 - 24/8/93

SOUTH AFRICA has two months left to invite the United Nations to send observers to monitor the elections on April 27, according to Mr Ismat Steiner, deputy head of the UN Observer Mission to South Africa.

Steiner said he did not think it would be immediately practical for a UN peace-keeping force to be deployed in South Africa because the UN was already overstretched.

"Present commitments have put

budgetary constraints on the UN. But if there is consensus from the World Trade Centre that we should come, the UN may accede to a request for a smaller peace-keeping force," he said (336)

There have been calls from various quarters for the deployment of a UN peace-keeping force to quell the violence which has claimed several hundred lives since the announcement of the election date.

Steiner said although the UN was willing and waiting to be invited to monitor the election, no invitation had been received.

He said the organisation needed six months notice to prepare itself.

"We need time. We need to know what is expected of us, what our role will be and how many people we should send," Steiner said.

He said unless there was an international presence, elections

would be open to question.

Steiner appealed to negotiators at the World Trade Centre to reach consensus on the transition soon. He said the UN would have to be invited by the transitional executive council and the electoral commission, neither of which had yet been formed.

The UN would need to send at least 12 000 observers if the country was to have at least 11 000 polling stations.

UN reaffirms support (336) for 'peaceful change' in SA

ARG 25/8/93
The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — The United Nations Security Council has reaffirmed its support for a peaceful transition to non-racial democracy in South Africa and has condemned violence, "especially in the East Rand."

In a statement adopted by consensus, the council noted that it was the responsibility of the "South African authorities" to take all necessary measures to stop the violence.

South Africa's UN delegation had some reservations on this point, but were reassured by a subsequent affirmation that "all parties" must help prevent the opponents of democracy from using violence to threaten the transition.

A delegation spokesman, Allen Shardilow, termed the statement "even handed."

The council welcomed efforts by the leaders of the ANC and Inkatha to convince their followers to avoid further violence and urged all the country's leaders to work jointly to prevent violence in the election period ahead.

It commended the role of international groups such as the OAU in helping to curb violence and claimed that UN observers in the country had "made a difference."

The council stressed the key role of the multiparty negotiating process and urged parties to reaffirm their commitment.

PAC worried about FW

Sowetan 27/8/93

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THERE is concern in anti-apartheid circles around the world following reports that President FW de Klerk is to address the United Nations later this year.

The Pan Africanist Congress' chief representative at the United Nations, Dr SEM Pheko, in particular, is concerned about rumours in New York that the oil embargo against South Africa would be lifted on

September 1. In an urgent communique to the PAC's head office in Johannesburg on Wednesday, Pheko requested clarity on the matter and was preparing to brief African ambassadors to the UN about the matter. The PAC yesterday referred Pheko to existing agreements such as the United Nations Consensus Declaration of 1989 which distinctly prohibits the total lifting of sanctions and the oil embargo until elections for a constituent assembly were held. (336) (S)

Star 6/9/93

UN chief warns Mozambicans

326

■ STAR AFRICA SERVICE

Maputo — United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has warned the Mozambican parties that the international community will not tolerate long delays in the implementation of the Rome peace accord.

The implication is that the UN may be forced to review its monitoring and other support on the ground if there are further delays in the peace process, which is already several months behind schedule.



End the delays ...
Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

"The demands on the United Nations and its critical financial constraints preclude any fur-

ther delay or procrastination," Boutros-Ghali said in his latest report on Mozambique to the Security Council.

"The international community would not entertain further attempts to attach conditions to the peace process or to gain more time and obtain further concessions."

The Secretary-General urged the Frelimo government and Renamo to accept "without further postponements" the revised UN timetable for the peace process.

The UN mission mandate in Mozambique runs out next month.

Under the new timetable, the opposing armed forces are supposed to begin gathering this month at the assembly points from which they will be disarmed and demobilised.

Half of them are expected to be demobilised by January and the rest by May.

The UN chief put the blame for the delay in the troop demobilisation on Renamo, saying that "the government has indicated its readiness to send its troops to the assembly areas as soon as Renamo is prepared to do the same".

Nations divided by a lost vision

Once, the United Nations was seen as a tool for small and progressive nations. Today, with public support dwindling and beset by problems, it serves the interests of the rich and powerful. **Richard Gott** believes its days are numbered

336
WM 10-16/9/93

THE UNITED Nations, forever bumbling away in the background, has been so much part of our lives for the past half century that it is difficult to imagine the time, perhaps not far in the future, when it won't be there any more. Yet all the evidence now suggests that its days are numbered.

Many people once hoped that the UN would rise phoenix-like from the ashes of the Cold War, but these early hopes have clearly not been fulfilled. In the bleaker 1990s, its very existence is in doubt. Throughout this year, as its activities in former Yugoslavia, Somalia and Cambodia have been closely scrutinised, the UN has come under sustained attack — from press and politicians and the public. It is not perceived as "our" UN any longer, but as someone else's, and "those people", whoever they may be, are now endlessly portrayed as corrupt and incompetent.

Over-stretched and under-funded, bureaucratically and unimaginatively organised, the UN is perceived to straddle the globe like a dinosaur, fed only by the pious hopes of those (now rather elderly) people who once dreamed that it could be used to forge a better world, and those time-serving diplomats created in each other's image who make up what is sometimes almost laughingly referred to as "the international community". From Sarajevo to Phnom Penh, from Mogadishu to Luanda, from Nicosia to San Salvador, the UN's thin blue line of "peacekeeping forces" is uncertainly deployed, confused participants in a global strategy that has lost all historical validity and over which no group or sentient individual seems to have adequate control.

Given the head of steam that is building up against it, it seems likely that the UN, like the League of Nations before it, will have vanished into history by the end of the century. The programmes put forward for its reform, most recently the American suggestion that Germany and Japan should be admitted to the Security Council, are not signs of life but symptoms of its decline.

A couple of years ago, I spent some months in New York with the purpose of examining the activities of the Security Council and the General Assembly at close quarters. Travelling there with the usual set of historically-acquired assumptions common to the liberal left, I was prepared to believe that the UN was an interesting and potentially progressive institution with a possible new lease of life.

I returned with a somewhat different set of beliefs, that have become hardened over time. Today's UN, I now believe, is an essentially and intrinsically conservative institution, operating almost solely for the benefit of the advanced capitalist world and what used to be thought of as "the West". It is no longer capable of reform along lines that would enable it to change in a progressive direction, particularly after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Third World. I find, as a result, that I am no longer able to share the aspirations of those who provide intellectual and moral support for an international organisation of this type.

There are of course major difficulties in the way of anyone who tries to reassess the role and potential value of the UN. Always an opaque organisation, it is not easy to understand its workings, and almost impossible to follow the threads of its myriad activities.

Only four groups of people are familiar with its arcane ceremonies, and all of them usually conspire to sing its praises. Disinterested criticism is conspicuous by its absence.

First are the diplomats permanently stationed at the UN headquarters in New York. Contrary to general belief, they are not without influence. It is perfectly possible for a country to carry weight at the UN simply through the character and expertise of its diplomatic team — out of all relation to its individual power as a nation. This is particularly true of the British delegation, which has long played a major role behind the arras on behalf of the United States. There have also been countries in the former Third World that have maintained high-powered and influential diplomats at the UN — Tanzania and India, Yugoslavia and Algeria, Peru, Cuba, and the Yemen.

Yet even at the best of times, these UN ambassadors are only diplomats. They have a certain capacity to manoeuvre, but no mandate to decide. They can always be over-riden by their political masters at home, a fact of life that helps make the New York headquarters such a frustrating institution.

The second group with some intimate knowledge of the UN are journalists, though with certain exceptions they are of a lesser calibre than the diplomats. Only the New York Times and the BBC World Service keep top grade people at the UN. Well-informed and often critical of what goes on, they usually have an unspoken admiration for the organisation's aims, though not necessarily for its activities.

The third group is made up of academics who write about the UN at one remove, the professors of international relations with more than a hundred years of research into international law behind them. They, too, constitute a powerful lobby in favour of the status quo and the UN's continued existence.

And finally there are the members of the secretariat, the UN's full-time civil service. Like the diplomats, the journalists, and the academics, they have such a vested interest in the UN — it is their life's work — that they rarely question the organisation's existence. While an insider from the secretariat may occasionally write a hostile exposé, this is the exception. So most serious analysis of the UN comes only from people who are critically sympathetic, and favour progressive reform, not from outright abolitionists.

Traditionally, of course, the UN has been perceived as an institution of the Left. Both in the West and in the Soviet Union, the Left has always been among its more solid supporters. The Left had always perceived — in the large majorities stacked up by the Third World during the 1960s and 1970s — the possibility of using the UN for what it perceived to be progressive purposes. Yet the collapse of the Soviet Union and of the Third World has put an end to such possibilities. Visiting the World Federation of United Nations Associations at their headquarters in New York, I found them almost in despair. Their keenest affiliates had been in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union: the most enthusiastic of all had been in Cuba. Now all their work and their proselytising activity over the years had been set at naught.



One has only to recall the list of countries above, of Third World states that gave high priority to the UN, to understand why there is no longer any significant Third World representation in New York. Yugoslavia, once the paladin of non-alignment, has self-destructed; Algeria, once the foremost supporter of Third World solidarity, has turned to Islam; Peru, once the exponent of the military road to socialism and internationalism, has eyes only for its grim internal affairs; India, archetypal promoter of neutralism and state capitalism, is now an ardent spokesman for Western interests; Cuba is concerned only with its own survival.

Yet, in practice, the UN has usually served the purposes of the Right and the world's most conservative powers. And this is certainly so today. Although there has always been a powerful isolationist lobby in the United States, preventing the US from using the UN very efficiently, the organisation has served American interests well, as intelligent Americans in Washington have always understood.

The lack of public support for the UN will prove eventually to be its Achilles' heel. An isolationist President in the United States, ... will have neither the time nor the inclination to manipulate the UN.

Of all the players in the great game that is still played out at the United Nations today, the United States — even in the uncertain Clinton era — remains the most important. Its power lies in its control of the Security Council, a tightly-run ship organised chiefly by the British on behalf of the Americans. In spite of the film shots frequently seen on television, the deliberations of the Security Council take place in absolute secrecy. It is in effect a dangerous and uncontrolled arm of the American government, with no countervailing power to balance it. In 1991, it launched the Gulf war; in 1992, it organised sanctions against Libya; in 1993, it permitted the bombing of Mogadishu. All was done in the name of the UN.

While the Americans provide the economic arm-twisting, the British supply the diplomatic expertise. Indeed the skill and care of the British diplomatic operation in New York is fascinating to observe. Without it, the UN would not work as well as it does — for the Americans.

The three other permanent members of the Security Council — the French, the Chinese, and the Rus-

sians — could provide a balance to the Anglo-Saxon powers, but in practice they play less significant roles. The French have no illusions about the UN, perceiving it as an Anglo-American monopoly. They rarely make major interventions, except to protect their own interests. The Chinese, for their part, have never played much of a role in the Security Council, ever since they were belatedly admitted. The Russians have become also-rans in the post-Gorbachev era. Their chief concern, inevitably, is with events at home.

Outside the Security Council, there are three groups of countries in the General Assembly that take a purposeful interest in the UN. The first is a small group of well-meaning countries who, for their own internal reasons, seek to conduct their foreign policy through the UN, yet they hardly constitute a counter to the weight of the United States. These are the Scandinavian countries, Canada, and Australia. These are the only true believers in the UN system. As such, they have a definite interest in the UN's continued existence. They have been urging reforms, but their leverage is not good.

Secondly, there are the economic super-powers that are not as yet permanent members of the Security Council: Germany and Japan. Neither is particularly skilled in using the UN machinery. The Japanese, now temporarily on the Security Council, would be interested in a larger role. The Germans have never been so keen and (like the Russians) are currently obsessed with events at home and in their regional sphere.

Thirdly, there are the countries of the former Third World. This is the saddest collection of people at the UN. They form a leaderless group that has lost its way. They remain economically and politically weak: the objective conditions that gave rise to something once called the Third World still, very obviously, exist.

In these circumstances, deprived of any popular world support, it is difficult to imagine that the UN will ever again be able to play an important role. The United States and its old western allies have clearly found the UN useful, though not essential, in their efforts to maintain their global hegemony. It has helped them to spread the cost of dismantling the ramparts of the cold war, and they look forward to its political support and financial help in policing the world in their interests.

Yet, even with this hidden subsidy, the UN's operations in the field are now seriously over-extended. The continuing efforts to get rid of Saddam Hussein are by no means without cost. The expeditions to Cambodia and to former Yugoslavia are huge multi-million pound operations. The

programmes in the Western Sahara and Angola involve huge extra costs, as do those in Central America. The shared burden will make all this possible for a while, but escalating costs will eventually cause a halt to operations.

The Americans now perceive that there is a need for a reform of the membership of the Security Council. Everyone agrees that it looks archaic, particularly when the chief global body is the G7 and no longer the "Big Five" nuclear (and veto-wielding) powers. But there is no real pressure for change, and no agreement about how it should be achieved.

Progressive reform is unimaginable because public support for the UN in western countries is now conspicuous by its absence.

The lack of public support for the UN will prove eventually to be its Achilles' heel. An isolationist President in the United States will have neither the time nor the inclination to manipulate the UN. Without active American support, the organisation will rapidly implode.

We have got used to thinking of "the West" (or "the North") as a coherent and cohesive unit, yet this era is clearly drawing to a close. We spend so much time extrapolating existing trends that we often forget that all political parameters can suddenly change, just as they have since 1989.

To understand what is happening, we need now to go back in history and ask ourselves why we have found ourselves supporting such an extraordinary concept as a world organisation at all. The great international organisations we have known in this century — the League of Nations and the UN — have always been assemblies of colonial powers designed essentially to prevent inter-imperial conflict. This has been the pattern, and it is difficult to see how it could be changed.

The General Assembly of the UN is not, and could never be, a democratic organisation. If it was, as has often been pointed out, the world would be run by the Chinese. One has only to look at the difficulties of organising United Europe to realise that a United World would be a wholly utopian venture. Public opinion in Britain, and indeed elsewhere, is wholly unprepared to accept losing its soldiers in foreign wars it cannot comprehend.

So I believe now that we should rid ourselves of our residual enthusiasm for the UN; we should regard it with the same kind of suspicion that was once reserved by the Left for the CIA — indeed any other institution that seeks to protect the privileges of its status quo powers. We should shed no tears if it were to disappear.

In the philosophically post-modern world in which we are now regretfully forced to live, the UN — with its embracing centralist ambitions — is a dangerous anachronism.

The soldiers are feasting on a dying city

Tiggie O'Kane finds evidence of UN profiteering and drug-smuggling in war-torn Sarajevo

VALTER PERIC street, where the fires from the rubbish tips ward off the rats and light the facades of the buildings. There are old blocks of flats, full of families, but no electricity, no light, no sign of life.

Rat-rat-a-tat-tat. Shooting at the end of the street. It is close, but far enough away in the darkness not to be too scary. There is no return fire. The air is too hot to breathe easily. The city smells of rot. Bin-strike rot. It is 10.30pm and nothing moves in the dark of Sarajevo. The only sound is a horse dog barking streets away. A strip of strong light shines out on to the street.

Inside, along the corridor, down the stairs, Lella is playing the grand piano by the doorway.

"What can I get you madame?"

"What do you have?"

"There's whisky, wine, cognac, French cognac."

"Whisky."

"Johnnie Walker or bourbon?"

The tablecloth is deep red, and Lella, who sang backing vocals in the Eurovision Song Contest, is singing a ballad about a poor man who lost his love.

At the red tables the men are mostly in their thirties and wear smart pastel-coloured shirts buttoned to the neck. The women are thin and beautiful, and you know they are mafia molls because they can pay for the dye to keep their blonde roots from turning black.

There are no men in uniform, no United Nations soldiers here. But the people eating at the red tables choose from a menu that offers veal and red wine in a city which has been cut off for 16 months.

The UN soldiers are making themselves and the Sarajevo mafia rich. The locals are the middlemen for a trade in cigarettes, alcohol, food, prostitution and heroin, worth millions of pounds. It is a trade that is stripping the people of Sarajevo of all their savings and valuables.

So far, 22 UN soldiers — 19 Ukrainians and three French — have been sent home for war profiteering, but the UN knows it is scratching the surface.

In this bleak, rotting city, the bar at the Bohemia is stacked with bottles of Hennessy, Cointreau and bourbon. Back-market Marlboro are passed around the table, while outside, the Sarajevo mafia runs its Mercedes and Nissan saloon cars on UN petrol — siphoned from UN vehicles by UN soldiers and sold at £20 a gallon to the mafia. The mafia adds another £40 to the price before the petrol goes on the streets at £60 a gallon.

The waiter in his sharp suit and red and blue silk tie is torn between

caution and wanting to show off his English. "Ninety per cent of it all comes from the UN. It is mostly black market between the UN soldiers and our people."

Our people, the men who drink and eat in the Bohemia where Lella plays the grand piano until late, pay the equivalent of a working man's monthly wage in Sarajevo for a whisky. A steak Diane is a year's salary for the Sarajevo soldier fighting on the front, who is paid in worthless Bosnian dinars.

The Bohemia's clientele is in the know. They know the UN soldiers. It works like this: of the three UN battalions in Sarajevo, it is mainly the French and the Ukrainians who do the business. The Egyptians operate on a small scale.

The Ukrainians are the masters, trading in cigarettes, cars, petrol, alcohol and women. The Sarajevo police suspect the trade includes heroin but say they can't prove it. The French specialise in wine, Coca-Cola, gold and sex.

The police first became suspicious of heroin trafficking when a police plant in the UN, with close connections to the city's drug mafia, reported the arrival of a consignment of fruit supplies for UN soldiers based in Sarajevo.

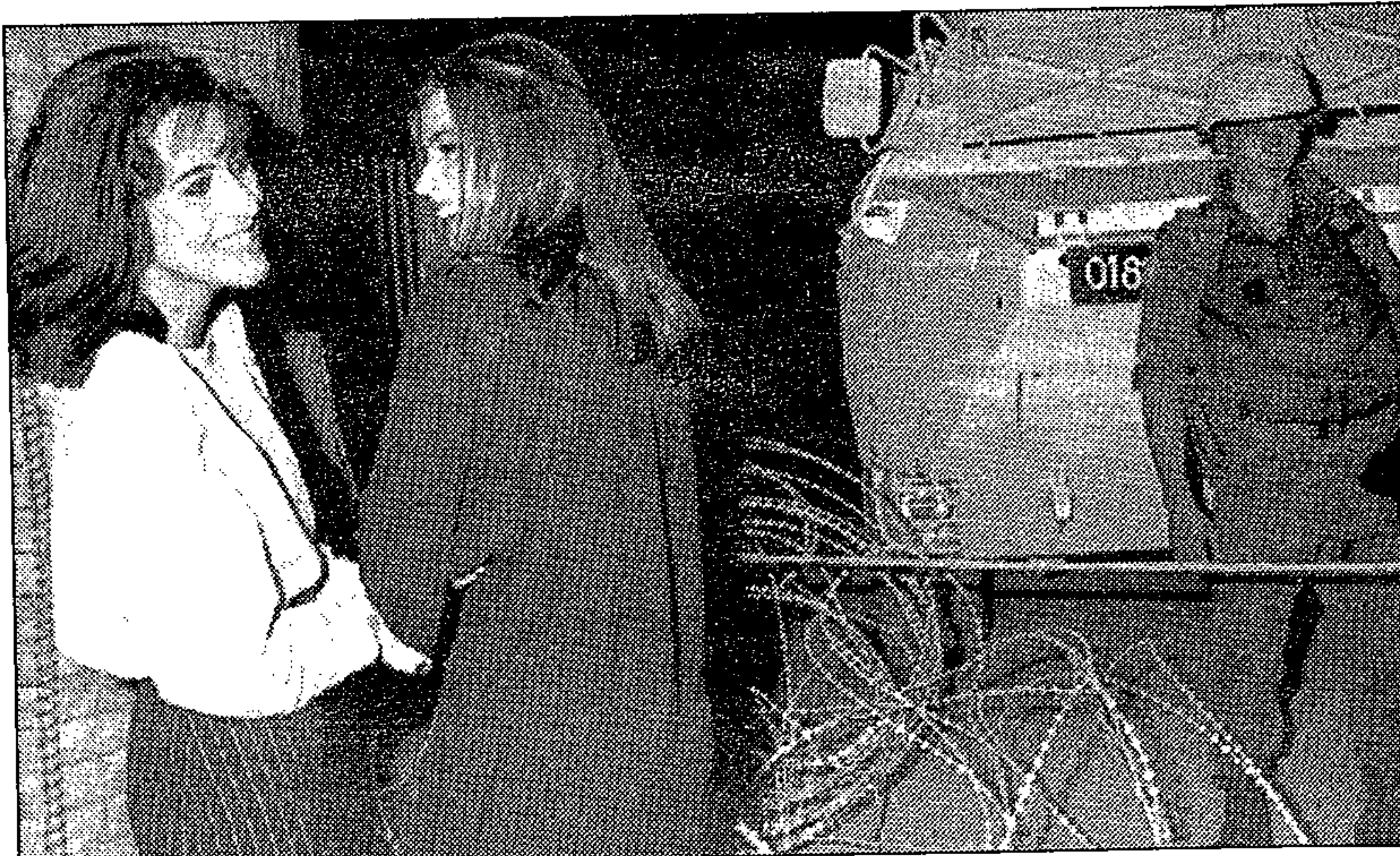
They suspect the first drug convoy came in March. According to Sarajevo's police chief, it was carrying 300 grams of heroin, smuggled in white UN lorries from the town of Pancevo, north of Belgrade, where the UN has its supply warehouses. One gram of heroin sells for £400 in Sarajevo. The convoy, run by the Ukrainians, had a street value of £120,000.

The Sarajevo police department was informed that the heroin had been stashed in oranges by carefully removing a section of the skin, cleaning out some of the fruit inside, hiding the plastic-wrapped heroin in the centre of the fruit, and then replacing the skin.

The police investigations unit has been wary of approaching the UN command until recently. They say they have no authority to stop UN soldiers, whatever their suspicions. At a meeting in the police headquarters, they said they would raise the issue with the UN.

"It is more than a suspicion but we have not been able to prove it," a member of the unit said.

They believe the heroin was stored at the warehouse in Halilovic beside the PTT. The PTT, Sarajevo's postal and communications centre, is now the headquarters of the UN force in Sarajevo. The police investigators believe the system is the same as the one used for cigarettes.



Thriving trade: Prostitutes solicit outside the French UN barracks in Sarajevo last week. Women say they are being paid for sex with UN soldiers in UN trucks

PHOTOGRAPH: R. M. KING

The heroin was taken into the city, about two miles from the centre, by UN vehicles and passed on to local fences to distribute.

Café Stephanel in the centre of the old town is the most notorious place to buy heroin. Earlier this month, the café owner, Jean, was arrested on drugs charges and spent 15 days in prison.

"I never sold drugs here," Jean told the Guardian. "The police planted them in the café and I had to use my connections in the police force to get out of prison."

"Since the UN came in August 1991, the amount of drugs on the market has been growing," said a senior narcotics officer with the Sarajevo police force. "We have information from inside the organisation that drugs are brought in to Sarajevo on supply convoys."

The drug addiction unit at Kosevo Hospital is run by Professor Ismet Ceric. Before the war began in April 1992, Prof Ceric said, Sarajevo had 112 registered heroin and multi-abuse addicts. Now the hospital has 643 registered cases of narcotics and heroin addicts. Prof Ceric estimates that the city has almost 3,000 addicts.

"We are getting new addicts daily," Prof Ceric said. He said he had no information that the drugs were being supplied through UN channels. "We never ask people where they get their drugs from."

According to the senior police narcotics officer, heroin addiction has expanded on a large scale during the war. "It has never been easier to persuade someone on the street to buy drugs than it is today."

"My personal opinion," adds the officer, "is that all three battalions in Sarajevo [French, Egyptian and Ukrainian] are involved in drug smuggling. We do not have proof, but we plan to raise the issue with the UN."

The money to buy drugs is raised through the theft of televisions, videos and cars, which are sold to UN soldiers.

Police say the most popular cars with the Ukrainians are VW Golfs. The average price for a second-hand Golf before the war was about £1,000. Today, people sell them for as little as £100 because they cannot get the petrol to run them.

The police believe the cars are shipped out of the city to the Serbian capital in UN container lorries, and from Belgrade back to the Ukraine using false documents.

The police headquarters is across the street from the French battalion barracks. From his window on the third floor, where a confiscated

cannabis plant grows in the sunlight, the man in charge of breaking the city's drug ring can see the gates of the barracks.

The French billet is the Scandaria sports hall and shopping mall. Built in 1983 for the Olympics, it is an ugly concrete structure surrounded by razor barbed wire and patrolled by bored, hot soldiers. It's better to approach the gates in the evening.

At around 7.30pm, an old Sarajevo is bartering in bad French with a soldier. He's holding a black velvet jeweller's pouch.

"This is no good," the soldier says. "The price is too high. But you can't sell this here. This gate is for coffee. Go to the gold gate — it's around the back."

"The French, they like the gold. They swap cigarettes for gold jewellery like this one," says Jean in the Stephanel café.

As Sarajevo becomes more impoverished, the people are not just selling their gold to survive but their bodies. Senada is not in a good mood tonight. She clips her high heels around the concrete path outside the French base, wearing an off-white mini-skirt. The French command, after complaints from the Bosnian police, have ordered the soldiers not to talk to locals after 10.30pm.

Senada is one of between 20 and 30 professional prostitutes who worked Sarajevo before the war. But after 16 months of siege and war, the number of women selling themselves has risen to more than 200.

At the Ukrainian barracks, the women climb in through the windows to sell themselves to the soldiers, with the full knowledge of the officers.

A local policeman on patrol said: "The women who are doing it now are mostly married. They are doing it because of their stomachs. The humanitarian aid we get is barely enough to fill a spoon. When we find them, we take them in. But we cannot do anything about the soldiers."

Many of the women who offer sex for hard currency come with their husbands to negotiate the price. The only sources of hard currency in Sarajevo are the foreign troops and foreign journalists.

Senada says she is paid about £80 a time, and has 10 regular customers. "I climb into the APC [armoured personnel carrier] and they drive me into the car park of the barracks." She is taken inside, but most of the soldiers pay for sex in the back of the white UN trucks in the base's car park.

"We used to see them coming out of UN vehicles, armoured patrol cars and UN lorries in the parking lot," a local policeman on duty last night said.

According to the Sarajevo vice chief, who asked not to be named, the police are concerned that girls under 18 are prostituting themselves. "The other night, we arrested a woman with a girl of 15 or 16. We don't know if she was offering her daughter or begging for food, but when we took her into custody, she simply said she was hungry."

Local police have not charged any woman for prostitution.

A policeman patrolling the base is almost in tears as he describes watching women on the hills above the base with the French soldiers, when they arrived in Sarajevo almost two months ago.

"This is a pitiful thing. It is a pitiful life. You should tell the world that we never lived like this before and I hope never again," the policeman says.

The war profiteering is organised on the scale of a huge business. At the Ukrainian barracks, three local profiteers were bartering over the price of a carton of 50 packs of cigarettes. The Ukrainians insisted they had to be sold as a package. It cost £1,000.

According to one black marketer, the Ukrainians also supply the Serbs, and have arranged a deal whereby the Serb soldiers do not shoot at customers coming to the Ukrainian barracks, which is just 50 yards from the Serbian front line at Grbavica. At 6am, it was possible to climb through a hole in the fence around the Ukrainian base and tread a well-worn path to a window where a Ukrainian soldier offered packs of low-quality cigarettes at £5 each. The profit on each pack is 500 per cent.

At the Sarajevo Holiday Inn, a cuvée specially bottled in the Franciscan cellars in Selestat was on offer.

"Ah, so the Mouton-cadet convoy has arrived," a journalist said of the French UN supplies.

In the last 16 months, the privileged of Sarajevo — black marketers and UN soldiers — have reaped the benefits of the war, also making life easier for journalists. In the beginning, no one asked too many questions about small-time entrepreneurs. But the scale of the UN involvement in war profiteering has changed all that.

The UN soldiers are now war profiteers and are out of control. They are feasting on a dying city, where Dr Ceric treats new heroin addicts weekly; where under-age girls sell sex to UN soldiers so they can eat; and where an old man, clutching his black velvet pouch, tries to convince a teenage French soldier that his wife's wedding ring is worth more than a few packs of Marlboro.

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UN bill in (330) Parliament

Political Staff

LEGISLATION was tabled in Parliament yesterday that will authorise President F W de Klerk to make UN Security Council resolutions applicable in South Africa. CT 2/19/93

The Application of Resolutions of the Security Council of the United Nations Bill authorises the State President to give effect to Security Council resolutions by proclamation. The legislation is required by the UN.

It is the first piece of legislation that seeks to put into effect South Africa's international obligations.

SA may be back in UN in November

NEW YORK. — South Africa could return to its seat at the United Nations, from which it was barred in 1974, as early as November.

Sources at the UN here said yesterday it was also possible a one-line resolution repealing all UN sanctions resolutions, except the arms embargo, could be passed early next week.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to call for the remaining economic sanctions to be lifted when he addresses the UN on Friday. (336)

Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa will accompany Mr Mandela on his tour of the US and Europe. — Sapa

UN mission in SA to be upgraded

3/Day 24/9/93

NEW YORK — The UN observer mission to SA is set to be upgraded to a "UN interim mission" before the end of the year.

The chairman of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, Nigeria's ambassador to the UN Prof Ibrahim Gambari, will make the recommendation to upgrade to the world body.

This year's UN debate on SA is scheduled for November, when Gambari will deliver his annual address and present recommendations.

Gambari, 48, has been the chairman of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid since 1990.

This week he said the expanded UN observer mission would have three specific tasks:

□ To establish an "engaged" observer mission to monitor violence;

□ To monitor the scheduled April 27 election, in conjunction with other international agencies such as the EC and Commonwealth. The UN would have to have its monitors in place at least six months before the election, he said. That would mean by the beginning of November at the latest; and

□ To send a team of economic and social planners to work with SA authorities and communities.

The planners would look specifically at the areas of employment, housing and health "to address the glaring imbalances caused by apartheid", Gambari said.

The group of specialists would identify "priorities and strategies" to help SA deal with these problems as it grappled with radical political change.

Gambari said his recommendations followed his third trip to SA earlier this year.

He added that he expected remaining UN sanctions, except for the arms embargo, to be lifted when the transitional executive council was finalised and functioning. (336)

According to government and ANC negotiators at Kempton Park, the council would be established some time after the middle of October.

Gambari said he was not keen to lift sanctions before then, at least not until the political changes in SA were irreversible.

"Right now we have only promises (of irreversibility), but it will be more appropriate to lift sanctions when the council is up and running."

It was all a question of timing, Gambari said. — Sapa.

SA may soon take its seat at the UN

Political Correspondent

FROM a practical point of view, South Africa had resumed its place at the United Nations, Foreign Minister P. W. Botha said yesterday.

However, South Africa would first negotiate its debt to the UN before taking up its seat in the General Assembly.

Mr Botha, the last South African to address the General Assembly almost 20 years ago, said the UN would be asked if this country's arrears in membership payments could be reduced or paid in instalments.

The minister's spokesman, Mr Awie Marais, said South Africa would also need to lobby the UN's credentials committee to make sure no countries would attempt to block the Republic's re-admission to the General Assembly.

The risk factor of this happening had been reduced by recent reforms "but much fancy footwork lies ahead".

Waterson

SA 'back in UN'
APG 28/7/73
JOHANNESBURG — South Africa has resumed its place at the United Nations "from a practical point of view", Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said on his return from the United States.

Mr Botha, the last South African representative to address the UN General Assembly in 1974, said only "technical details" remained to be worked out. (336)

3 UN seats remain empty

(336) ARG 29/9/93
NEW YORK. — South Africa did not take its long-vacated seat at the United Nations General Assembly when the general debate began this week.

The three seats behind the nameplate "South Africa" remained empty as US President Bill Clinton addressed the general assembly.

UN sources said there was no indication that South Africa would be resuming its seat in the immediate future. For that to happen South Africa would need to have its credentials accepted. — The Argus Foreign Service.

UN likely to lift sanctions this week

Star 5/10/93

■ BY MIKE LITTLEJOHN

New York — The UN General Assembly is expected to lift most sanctions against South Africa this week because "the transition to democracy has now been enshrined" in new laws.

However, the oil embargo would not be cancelled until the Transitional Executive Council becomes operational.

African diplomats said they would propose that the two-week general debate, in which presidents and other delegation leaders are making their policy statements, be interrupted to permit the introduction of the resolution, which Zimbabwe prepared as the current chairman of the African group (336).

At his request, Nathan Shamuyarira, the Zimbabwe Foreign Minister, had a meeting with Pik Botha shortly before Nelson Mandela called for the lifting of most sanctions in his UN address last month. A diplomat who was present said each promised the other good co-operation.

Zimbabwe is expected to move to establish diplomatic relations with South Africa even before the April elections.

Action by the General Assembly is bound to help Mandela, who had problems with US business leaders during his tour to drum up investment in the "new SA".

UN lifts curbs and EC pledges SA aid

Star 9/10/93

JUST two weeks after the green light from Nelson Mandela, the United Nations yesterday agreed that economic sanctions be lifted, the European Community announced an immediate aid package for South Africa and Barbados announced it is to ask the Commonwealth to lift all remaining sanctions against South Africa. (336)

The UN move opens the way for South Africa's readmission to the organisation after almost 20 years.

Most sanctions will be lifted immediately, but an oil embargo will be maintained until the Transitional Executive Council becomes operational.

The General Assembly resolutions imposing economic sanctions on Pretoria were not binding on UN members, but their lifting has great symbolic value, signalling acceptance by the 184 member-states that South Africa is well on

TO PAGE 2.

Sanctions lifted

FROM PAGE 1.

the way to a multiracial democracy.

"The transition to democracy has now been enshrined in the law of South Africa," yesterday's resolution said.

"All provisions adopted by the General Assembly relating to prohibitions or restrictions on economic relations with South Africa and its nationals, whether corporate or natural, including the areas of trade, investment, finance, travel and transportation, shall cease to have effect as of the date of the adoption of this resolution," it added.

The embargo on oil, oil products and investment in the South African oil industry would be lifted "as of the date that the Transitional Executive Council becomes operational", it said.

Star 9/10/93

In Brussels, the European Community announced it would immediately step up economic and financial aid to South Africa, particularly to assist in the run-up to the election.

EC spokesman Xavier Monne said the community was to make \$6.5 million (R22 million) immediately available for voter education.

He was speaking after a meeting at the headquarters of the European Commission, the executive arm of the EC, between Mandela and commission president Jacques Delors.

After talks with President F W de Klerk in Cape Town, Barbados Prime Minister Lloyd Sandiford said on the steps of Tuynhuys that Barbados and other Commonwealth countries "stand ready to work for the development of a non-racial, democratic South Africa". — Own Correspondent and Sapa-Reuters-AP.

(336)

Business in line for UN spending

BIDAY 11/10/93

ROBYN CHALMERS

THE lifting of sanctions has put SA business in line to benefit from up to R8,5bn (\$2,5bn) which UN agencies spend yearly on global development.

A delegation from five UN agencies will arrive in SA in March next year to meet SA businessmen to explain procurement methods employed by major UN agencies.

The UN agencies expected in SA next year to discuss development strategies include the UN Children's Fund, UN Development Programme, UN Industrial Development Organisation and UN High Commissioner for Refugees. (336)

Government and export agency officials said this was only the tip of the iceberg, as other donor agencies such as the World Bank, its private sector arm the International Finance Corporation, and the African Development Bank had set aside about R70bn to fund private sector projects in Africa.

They said the focus shift away from governments to private sector schemes in Africa was relatively

new. The World Bank recently expanded its private sector arm and the African Development Bank created a private sector development unit.

A move by UN and other donor agencies into SA would provide a boost to many ailing industries, particularly the construction, agriculture, education, telecommunication and medical sectors.

Billions of dollars are spent every year by agencies involved in activities such as infrastructural development of roads and water supply, modernisation of industries, primary health care and education, feeding and sheltering of refugees and population control.

UN agencies will concentrate on suppliers of construction equipment, building materials, food, hospital/medical equipment, pharmaceuticals, cars, agricultural and telecommunications equipment, computer hardware and software, educational materials and stationery.

UN will pay to get Mozambicans home

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — The UN has agreed to pay for the repatriation from SA of an estimated 250 000 Mozambican refugees.

An agreement concerning the voluntary repatriation was signed in Maputo on Friday by the SA and Mozambique governments and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. **B/Day**

In terms of the agreement the UN — whose secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali was expected to arrive in Maputo yesterday — would foot the bill for the repatriation, including the transportation, of the refugees as close to their homes as possible. **18/10/93**

The UN has said about R500m is required over the next three years to repatriate the 1.6-million Mozambican refugees scattered throughout southern Africa, Sapa reports.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said the refugees, who had fled Mozambique during years of civil war, lived mostly in KaNgwane and in areas along the SA-Mozambique border. **(236) (336)**

Foreign Affairs multilateral section deputy director-general Jeremy Shearar said estimates of the numbers of Mozambican refugees were rough at best.

It was difficult to gauge how many Mozambicans had entered the country illegally, and the registration of refugees would be one of the first tasks of the joint trilater-

☐ To Page 2

Mozambicans **B/Day** 18/10/93 ☐ From Page 1

al commission created as a result of the agreement.

The agreement, signed by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Mozambique Deputy Co-ordination Minister Oldimiro Baloi and the UN commissioner's Africa director Nicolas Bwakiraf, set out who was entitled to refugee status based on current UN and OAU policy, "with some caveats".

It followed an accord signed last month between SA and the UN agency, recognising, for the first time, Mozambican refugees' legal rights. **(336) (236)**

While the UN would ultimately foot the repatriation bill, SA would also consider

making a contribution, Shearar said. The repatriation would be voluntary and the department believed "far more want to go back than stay".

It would be up to the commissioner, in conjunction with Mozambique and SA, to decide how to handle refugees who did not want to return.

Boutros-Ghali, who will meet Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano and Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama in Maputo this week to boost the UN-brokered peace process, said recently the repatriation programme would be completed by April.

This was possibly a little optimistic, Shearar said.

UN, Pik to work on chief

Star 21/10/93

■ STAR AFRICA SERVICE

Maputo — Both the UN and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha have pledged to try to bring IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi back to the negotiation table.

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said the UN would continue to apply pressure on Buthelezi to rejoin the negotiation process.

Yesterday Boutros-Ghali said Buthelezi's refusal to continue

negotiations was a major stumbling block.

"Buthelezi is a problem but we will continue to work with the IFP through discussions to get them back to the negotiation table." (336)

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha also promised to work towards a solution. (336)

"We can't proceed without the IFP, the CP and General Constand Viljoen's group. We can't go on until substantial numbers

of major political parties agree to the transitional constitution."

He said if the process went on without them, South Africa was in for a very troublesome time.

Botha said he was convinced Buthelezi believed what he was saying and added that it was time all the other parties — including the NP — took another serious look at federalism.

"We must reach agreement by a process of give and take," he said.

NEWS

ANC, PAC should lose privileged access - King

UN special status may end

Star 4/11/93

■ **BY CHRIS WHITFIELD**
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The special status enjoyed by the ANC and PAC in the United Nations may be coming to an end.

UN Observer Mission to South Africa (Unomsa) chief Angela King yesterday suggested it would seem "logical" to end the status — which gives the liberation movements special privileges and access at the UN — as part of "leveling the playing fields" in the country. King stressed, however, that this was a personal opinion.

In a speech yesterday to the African-American Institute, she also:

■ Hit at the Government for not acting more strongly to clamp down on the proliferation of weapons in the country, saying it could have done much more by publicly destroying dangerous weapons and enforcing existing laws.

■ Said ANC leader Nelson Mandela and his IFP counterpart, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, had not done enough to ensure their agreement of July 23 to facilitate free political activity was acted upon at grassroots level.

■ Described the use of slogans such as "Kill the boer, kill the farmer" as "barbaric".

Speaking to The Star after the speech, King

said the ending of the ANC and PAC's special status would require a resolution of the UN General Assembly.

She said she did not want to prejudge the assembly's debate on apartheid scheduled for December 14-16.

King added that the Peace Accord did not have enough teeth to be effective, but thought this problem would be addressed by the new Electoral Act and the Independent Electoral Commission.

She said the UN believed "there is a need for a substantial number of international monitors" during the election and estimated that as

many as 1 000 might be required in the country. At present Unomsa has 50 such observers, but the number is to be doubled. (336)

Turning to the role of the UN in post-apartheid South Africa, she said the organisation was "poised to take prompt, effective and concerted action".

It would, in conjunction with South Africa, identify programmes where UN assistance and support would be most appropriate to boost the economy.

The UN Development Programme would be moved into the country soon after the April 27 election.

ANC's 'special status' queried

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Removing the special status the UN had accorded the ANC and PAC over the past 20 years would help the organisation's claim to impartiality during monitoring of the April election, said UN observer mission chief Ms Angela King yesterday.

Ms King was speaking during a meeting of the African-American Institute. Asked about perceptions that the UN was too close to the ANC, she said the time would come when the UN would end the special status accorded the ANC and PAC.

This was a decision for member states, and the issue would be debated during the UN's December debate on apartheid.

Violence

Ms King said violence was probably the single most negative factor threatening next year's elections. While there were allegations of a third force, and credible claims of police brutality, much of the violence was caused by political intolerance.

She called on political leaders to bring home to their followers the need to reduce the levels of violence.

Ms King said that the UN observer mission in South Africa would soon be doubled to 100 people, but she believed up to 2 000 international observers might be needed to assist local monitors.

— Sapa

Poll 'may need 2 000 UN observers'

MIKE ACOTT

UP TO 2 000 international observers might be needed for elections, UN observer mission chief Angela King said yesterday.

Replying to questions at a meeting of the African-American Institute, she said it would help the UN's claim to be impartial if it removed the special status it had accorded the ANC and the PAC. The issue would be debated next month. *6/20/94*

The UN observer mission would soon be doubled to 100 people, but she believed up to 2 000 international observers might be needed to assist local monitors. *4/11/93*

The request to the UN for additional observers would have to come from the Independent Electoral Commission and the Transitional Executive Council. *(336)*

"We believe that the presence of international observers at the elections will help

reduce suspicion and doubt about the integrity of the process."

King said violence was probably the single most negative factor threatening the elections. There were allegations of a third force and credible claims of police brutality, but much of the violence was caused by political intolerance.

King said Goldstone commission reports showed "the jury is still out" on whether it believed there was a third force.

She called on political leaders to educate followers on the need to reduce violence.

King criticised the "lack of total engagement" by government, political groupings and particularly the media in helping prepare the country for the elections.

South Africa back in UN food and agricultural fold

PRETORIA. — South Africa was readmitted to the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) yesterday, the first United Nations agency to accept the country back into its fold since political reforms were instigated.

Delegates to the FAO's bien-

nial conference in Rome applauded when results of the secret ballot — 128-10 with five abstentions — were announced.

But South Africa, which left the FAO in 1964, will be given full rights and privileges only once the transitional executive council is in place.

Welcoming the decision, minister of agriculture Kraai van Niekerk said membership of the FAO would enable South Africa to offer her expertise, technology and facilities, while sharing in the expertise available in the rest of the world.

Foreign minister Pik Botha

ARLT 10/11/93 (336) (2)
said: "Resumed membership of FAO is a tangible recognition of the irreversible political progress achieved so far."

"It is a milestone on the path of regional co-operation."

South Africa's readmission increases FAO's membership to 169. — Sapa.

UN denies scheme to buy Mozambique's weapons

MAPUTO — The UN denied yesterday it was involved in plans to buy up Mozambique's surplus weapons but said it was concerned about the gun-running that has fuelled SA violence. *B1 Day*

"There is no such programme involving the UN," said a spokesman for the UN operation in Mozambique. *17/11/93*

The spokesman was reacting to comments on Monday by SA Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel that Pretoria had been negotiating with the UN on the matter for two to three months.

Kriel said his government, which during the '80s supplied Mozambique's Renamo rebels with thousands of captured AK-47s and other weapons, had been negotiating with the UN to acquire all the AK-47s in Mozambique, with the international community paying the major share and Pretoria making a contribution. *(336)*

He said AK-47 assault rifles smuggled from Mozambique were a major factor in SA's political violence. It had proved impossible to prevent them being carried across the border.

A senior Western diplomat said there could be as many as a million AK-47s in Mozambique.

Under the terms of an October 1992 peace agreement ending Mozambique's 16-year civil war, soldiers and former Renamo guerrillas would start gathering this month at UN-administered demobilisation areas where they had to hand over their weapons. But many weapons had already reached the black market.

Other plans to try to dry up the supply of weapons in Mozambique included a "Buy a Gun for Peace" plan offering gun owners cash and an amnesty, and another offering bicycles or sewing machines in exchange for weapons. Neither worked.

Sapa reports that the ANC suggested the SA Police's intended purchase of AK-47 rifles from Mozambique was an attempt to undermine the UN arms embargo.

The ANC said it would oppose any move by the SA government to undermine the arms embargo.

The Ciskei government had also recently bought AK-47 rifles for use by the homeland's "hit squads", the ANC said.

It appealed to the Organisation for African Unity and the UN to ensure the embargo remained in force until a democratic government was in place. — Sapa-Reuter.

UN appeals to all SA parties to respect interim accords

APR 24 11 13 (336)

NEW YORK. — The United Nations Security Council has welcomed the successful completion of agreements on an interim South African constitution and electoral bill and has urged all parties to respect the accords.

The council said in a statement read at a brief meeting that it looked forward to elections scheduled for next April and urged "all parties in South Africa, including those that did not participate fully in the multiparty talks, to respect agreements reached during the negotiations, to recommit themselves to democratic principles, to take part in the elections and to resolve outstanding issues by peaceful means only."

The council reiterated its continued support for peaceful democratic change for the benefit of all South Af-

ricans and invited Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to accelerate planning for a possible UN role in the election process.

This would include co-ordinating with observer missions to be sent by the Organisation of African Unity, the European Community and the Commonwealth.

The council urged the early establishment of the Transitional Executive Council and Independent Electoral Commission, key institutions on the road to a non-racial democracy.

"The Security Council considers South Africa's transition to democracy must be underpinned by economic and social reconstruction and development, and calls on the international community to assist in this regard." — Sapa-Reuter.

winning taste
t cigarette

Star 10/12/93
UN formally lifts SA oil embargo

New York — In another big step towards the normalisation of South Africa's international relations, the UN General Assembly has formally lifted all restrictions on the sale of oil and petroleum products to the country. The decision also reopens the possibility of foreign investment in the South African petroleum industry.

The only coercive measure now remaining is the arms embargo imposed by the Security Council in 1977, which is not expected to be revoked until some time after the April election. That event is also certain to lead to the South African delegation's return to the General Assembly.
— Star Bureau. (336)

ASKED why the World Bank is important to SA, most people would understandably say money, as in billions of dollars of relatively inexpensive loans for post-apartheid reconstruction.

That may one day be the case. But in the meantime, the bank has been performing a far more valuable service. It has quietly been preparing the next government's economic policymakers and analysts, and trying to ensure they do not reinvent wheels which history has shown won't roll.

The exercise, in train since 1990, has been and continues to be a delicate one. The bank is sensitive to its reputation in the developing world. It does not want to be seen calling the shots, and has, in any event, concluded from hard experience that calling shots seldom delivers the desired results. Its clients must be made to feel they are in charge and doing, of their volition, what is best for them.

This is precisely how the bank has been proceeding in SA. Becoming involved only when invited, it has played a quasi-Socratic role. It has rarely if ever told its "counterparts", as it likes to call them, what to think. And because, until very recently, it has effectively been barred from lending by its most powerful board member, it has never even felt tempted to use prospective loans as levers to enforce its point of view. At most, it would describe itself as having guided and focused a dialogue already well under way among South Africans.

Sometimes, however, a nudge is needed, and it is in that light that the latest paper to be inserted into public ken by the bank's SA country team, "Paths to Economic Growth", should be read. Nominally, the paper is an "abstract" of far more detailed and lengthy findings derived from an economic model of SA developed by bank economist Peter Fallon, and which will be released in full only next year. On closer reading, it is an attempt to highlight, and with luck remove, a critical blockage in the ANC's thinking.

The paper's theme is the impor-

World Bank takes a delicate approach to SA

SIMON BARBER in Washington

Bay 7/12/93

(356)

tance of revived private investment if SA is to achieve sustained GDP and employment growth. Fallon's model is used to demonstrate, graphically, what SA can expect if business confidence and investment do not pick up.

Bottom line: even if the Mandela administration does everything else right, unless the private sector is investing at or above 1970 levels SA will be forgoing at least two percentage points of badly needed growth a year. Under an even grimmer scenario, the government itself would have R50bn less to invest on schools, health care and improved living conditions over the next decade than could otherwise be projected and might well find itself headed into a Latin American-style debt trap.

There is, however, an odd lacuna in the document. Almost nothing is said on what a new government might do, or not do, to promote private investment. The one reference is Delphic: "Investor confidence will only materialise if, unlike the past, policymaking is transparent and there are no sudden and unexpected shifts in economic policies."

Interestingly, Trevor Manuel and other ANC spokesmen have already uttered almost exactly the same words. They have also subscribed to almost every other prescription and idea contained in the paper. They would agree, for example, on the



MANUEL

need for policies to promote "the rapid growth in skilled labour, particularly by upgrading semiskilled and unskilled workers", both to improve income equality and to reduce the constraint that the lack of skilled labour imposes on growth.

Likewise, the paper's recommendations on trade and industrial policy, job creation, land reform, redirected public investment, and fiscal

and monetary restraint are well within the bounds of what is currently accepted as politically correct. Which is not surprising since all these matters have been the subject of research on which bank staff have worked closely with the ANC, government and other players.

The call for policies to promote exports, and thereby growth and productivity, is hardly likely to provoke surprise or offence. And, perhaps with an eye on Cosatu, the paper acknowledges that there will have to be trade-offs. On the one hand, SA manufacturers will need access to inputs at world prices if they are to compete on world markets. That means the levels of protection will have to come down. On the other hand, "the present high unemployment and stagnation in the economy" mean that care must be taken not to overdo things.

Shell House will not be seeing over suggestions encouraging low wage public works schemes, or the dismantling of credit subsidies for small-scale, labour-intensive agriculture, or increased public investment in deprived urban areas. Nor will Manuel take umbrage at the proposition that while fiscal prudence is essential, on the monetary side, "the authorities need to consider the consequences for the real economy of reducing inflation much

below its present level". As for the statement, "higher growth without redistribution cannot work in a future SA", the ANC could scarcely have said it better itself.

In short, it is scarcely an exaggeration that virtually every recommendation in the document was pre-cooked and served up in such a way as to cause the minimum of controversy, much less trigger protest on World Bank neo-colonialism.

This brings us back to the lacuna: the absence of specific, or even artfully phrased do's and don'ts for promoting private investment. Nor, despite elaborate graphs showing what happens with and without it, is there much quantification of the levels needed, though the kicker at the end of the following observation offers a clue: "If the skills of 1% of all black workers could be upgraded each year to white levels, annual growth in both black employment and GDP would be raised by 1.5 percentage points, given a growth in the capital stock of 5% a year."

Evidently, this is an area in which the bank (or to be more accurate, its staff) do not feel there is a necessary level of consensus to enable it to sound off without seeming bossy and intrusive.

There is a set of problems here which have to be worked through. SA country team chief Alan Morris, the paper's author, and his colleagues have yet to reach the point in their dialogue with their counterparts where it is safe to address such issues as prescribed investments, unbundling and corporate taxes, much less privatisation.

In other words, they sense that private investment is still a touchy subject for the next government. That is the principal reason they have decided to issue "Paths to Economic Growth".

Now, of course, they will say there has been such enormous interest in the bank's modelling exercise that they thought it was time to circulate a few of the key results. Fair enough, but give them a little more credit. Morris did not pick which results to highlight gratuitously. He was hoping to prod his counterparts into filling in the gaps.

N election (336)

team arrives

JOHANNESBURG. — The United Nations' role in the April elections will be assessed by a team arriving here today, according to a statement by the UN Observer Mission in South Africa (Unomsa) yesterday. CT 11/12/93

The team will be headed by Mr Horacio Boneo, director, UN electoral assistance unit, department of public affairs.

The team is expected to spend 10 days in South Africa and will tour the country to assess electoral observers' requirements. — Sapa (336)

Govt, ANC have faith in UN election monitor

BIDON 20/12/93
KATHRYN STRACHAN

GOVERNMENT and the ANC said at the weekend they were looking forward to a good working relationship with the newly-appointed UN special representative to SA, Algerian Lakdar Brahimi, who is visiting the country.

Neither government nor the ANC would comment on allegations in the Weekly Mail that the former Algerian foreign minister had been involved in nullifying the results of an election in Algeria, and in a palace coup.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said comment would be inappropriate. He said the ANC hoped to have a good working relationship with the UN envoy. (336)

President F W de Klerk's office said it had confidence in UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and in his appointments, and welcomed Brahimi.

At a meeting with Brahimi in Cape Town on Friday, De Klerk had emphasised the importance of impartiality and co-ordination between international observers.

This had been acknowledged by the special representative, who had assured De Klerk of his mandate of strict impartiality and his wish to serve SA as a whole.

At the meeting De Klerk also raised concern about intimidation of voters and asked the UN to report this wherever it occurred.

The Weekly Mail alleged Brahimi had previously displayed a disregard for democratic procedures which did not augur well for his new role as top elections watchdog.

The report said Islamic fundamentalists swept the boards in the Algerian general election in 1991, routing the ruling party of which Brahimi was a leading member.

The party responded by nullifying the elections and acting against the fundamentalists.

Days after the cancellation of the election result, Brahimi joined other Algerian party officials in squeezing President Chadli Benjedid from office in a palace coup, the report alleged.

Benjedid was replaced by a body calling itself the Supreme Security Council, with Brahimi one of its leading members, the report said.

UNITED NATIONS

1994 - 1995

'No free electioneering in Bophuthatswana'

BIDAY 5/11/94

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — The arrest of four ANC members, including three regional office bearers, under Bophuthatswana's internal security legislation at the weekend had fuelled concerns about the extent of free political activity in the region, Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) said yesterday.

Bophuthatswana police spokesman Col Dave George confirmed the arrests of regional chairman Temba Gwaben, secretary Ephraim Motoko, youth league publicity secretary Diale Kgantsi and LHR employee Joyce Tshweu, under Section 25 of the territory's Internal Security Act, but said three of had been released.

LHR regional director Thabiso Ramphela said the arrests, together with alleged harassment of voter education programme employees, made preparations for April's election difficult.

George said the Bophuthatswana police were "more than aware of the delicate situation" and would not have arrested the four unless information had been received which "could not be ignored".

"We don't go out of our way to antagonise people," He said interrogations were conducted by the police's special branch so no comment on the allegations could be offered.

The LHR wrote to the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) last month asking it to approach the Bophuthatswana government with a view to permitting celebrations of International Human Rights Day and allowing more open political activity. Delayed Supreme Court consideration of the matter, despite TEC intervention, prevented the planned concert and activities from taking place.

Ramphela said the ANC was not being allowed to make any sort of contribution to the establishment of a new SA in Bophuthatswana.

This would cause problems when, after the election, ANC members with little experience or knowledge were likely to be appointed to local and provincial government positions.

He said LHR employee Tshweu had been transferred from prison to hospital when her health had deteriorated after the arrest. He claimed police officers had interrogated Tshweu in her hospital bed as to whether the LHR was an ANC-aligned organisation and had demanded she give them the keys to the LHR office.

Army of monitors for SA

BIDAY 5/11/94

A SMALL army of international observers will be in SA to monitor the April 27 election, which officials say is going to be one of the most-watched polls of the decade.

The Commonwealth said yesterday it was planning to send at least 70 election monitors, but this was only a fraction of the numbers being sent by the UN, church groups, foreign political parties, labour organisations and foreign governments.

UN sources said between 2 000 and 4 000 UN observers could be expected and Japan alone was said to be sending 100. The UN will co-ordinate all the observers.

Commonwealth Observer Mission spokesman Colleen Lowe-Morna said there were three categories of official monitors: political parties, domestic (which included non-governmental organisations, business and churches) and international monitors.

"Governments will also be sending some observers... so in total you will have a fair amount. The UN will obviously have the largest contingent."

She said the Commonwealth group, expected to include at least one former prime minister, would be the largest sent to monitor an election.

Acting head of the EC observer mission Leslie House said Europe was sending 312

monitors. Talking about the importance of international observers during the election period, Lowe-Morna said: "I should stress we are very much only a back-up to existing domestic monitors." (336)

Lowe-Morna and House agreed that the safety of the observers was cause for concern. More than 13 000 people have been killed in political violence in nearly four years of apartheid reforms and political observers fear an escalation of unrest in the run-up to the election.

But what made it easier in SA was the fact that there were "identifiable areas where security is a concern... the main areas are Natal, Tokoza and Katlehong", Lowe-Morna said.

Home Affairs spokesman Norman du Plessis said there would probably be two to three policemen at each polling station.

"We are not talking about policemen in polling booths — that would be politically incorrect and affect the credibility of the elections."

He said police and members of an embryonic multiparty peace force would in the main be responsible for security at the election. — Sapa-Reuter.

Stals, Manuel to speak at UN meet

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals will be one of the keynote speakers, together with ANC economics chief Trevor Manuel, at a UN sponsored conference to be held here later this month.

The conference is on sustainable economic growth and development in SA, and will include a look at the policy priorities which a democratic government should adopt in its early years.

The conference, to be attended by about 40 SA businessmen, politicians, labour representatives and academics, is being co-sponsored by the London School of Economics' Centre for the Study of the SA Econ-

omy and International Finance. The other keynote speaker will be the PAC's Mosebjane Malatsi.

ANC economist Max Sisulu will chair a workshop on mobilising domestic resources, Independent Development Trust CE Wiseman Nkuhlu a workshop on mobilising external resources, and trade unionists Tommy Oliphant and Alec Erwin a workshop on restructuring the domestic economy.

The conference will conclude with a round table discussion on the process of policy-making under a new democratic government with speakers including Anglo American's Bobby Godsell and Kagiso Trust's Eric Molobi.

(336) CT 12/1/94

1994 ★

2 000 UN monitors for elections

WASHINGTON. — United Nations secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali is to recommend that between 1 800 and 2 000 UN observers be sent to monitor South Africa's elections, in a report to the UN Security Council due by the end of the week, diplomats said.

The report, based on an assessment mission undertaken at the request of the Transitional Executive Council, is understood to call for the observers to be phased in over the next three months.

In Pretoria, the TEC yesterday announced the names of international observers it had appointed to the Independent Electoral Commission.

They are Professor Walter Kamba (Zimbabwe), Mr R K C de Silva (Sri Lanka), Mr Ron Gould (Canada), Mr Amare Teckle (Eritrea), and Ms Gay McDougall (United States).

Planning at this stage calls for a UN observer to be placed at each polling site in areas considered volatile. Elsewhere,

monitoring would be carried out by mobile two-person teams who would be responsible for covering a number of sites.

The UN contingent is expected to be supplemented by 312 observers from the EEC, 70 from the Commonwealth and up to 50 from the OAU. Their activities will be co-ordinated by the UN, but each group will probably issue its own findings on the conduct of the election. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

SA welcomes UN decision

THE South African Government has welcomed the decision by the United Nations Security Council to increase the number of electoral observers in South Africa to 2 840.

In a statement at the weekend South African Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said the Security Council's decision had been based on discussions that had been held over the past few months, commencing with a meeting between State President FW de Klerk and UN Secretary-General

Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali in September last year. *Sowetan*

According to Botha's statement the United Nations observer contingent would be 1 778; the Organisation for Africa Unity 50; the European Union 332; the Commonwealth 70; and other UN member states 600. (336)

Botha referred to a letter by him to the UN secretary-general in December last year in which he said there was general consensus in South Africa that the observers sent to South

Africa so far had done "an effective job of work and made a major contribution to the National Peace Secretariat and other Peace Accord structures to reduce violence". 171194

"The South African Government therefore shares the view that this work should continue and that given its experience in this field, the UN should be encouraged to give effect to its offer of assistance during the run-up to the elections," Botha's letter said. — Sapa.

UN sizes up approach to April poll

Star 19/1/94

Thousands of international election monitors are about to pour into South Africa to observe the country's first nonracial election on April 27. Helen Grange looks at the challenges facing them

(326)

As the April 27 election looms, the number of international monitors in the country will increase dramatically, but their effectiveness during the campaign will depend as much on sensitivity to voter needs as their presence in numbers.

The United Nations, having played a role in multiparty polls all over the world — occasionally burning its fingers — has learned that every nation's socio-political landscape is unique, requiring a new approach every time.

South Africa is no exception. The international observer missions in the country — from the UN, the Commonwealth, the European Union (EU) and the Organisation for African Unity

(OAU) — have been at pains to stress that they are here as observers and helpers only, carrying no interventionist mandate.

To this end, they have been present at numerous mass action events, often being called on to mediate between warring groups but never taking a prescriptive stand. For this they have been both commended and criticised.

At events during the election run-up, the international observers will be highly visible.

Speculation has it that up to 4 000 UN observers will be brought out. The Commonwealth is sending at least 70 monitors while the EC will send 312.

The first trickle of these observers into the country has already started.

All local parties concerned feel that the more uniformed foreign observers there are during the campaign, the better.

Part of the rationale is that voters, having a high regard for the international community, would be made aware of their behaviour at campaign events and during the voting process itself. Many voters would also feel comforted by the presence of experienced and impartial "watchers".

Paul Graham, programme director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa, stresses that the foreign observers should be easily identifiable to voters and that, to that end, they should market themselves properly so that people know who they are.

"I get the impression that they are spending too much time explaining themselves," he said. "During the election in Angola, monitors were constantly having to explain who they were and what they were doing."

According to Paul Joachim von Stulpnagel, the EU ambassador to South Africa, foreign observers will be focusing on violence, political rallies and election techniques.

All the international monitors will be co-ordinated by the UN mission, which is currently waiting for word from its New York headquarters on the number of observers to be sent and the programme for the election run-up.

UN spokesman James Canu says the UN's role of observing the security situation and me-

diating disputes will continue until closer to the election date, when tasks will shift to investigating voter complaints, ensuring voter education reaches as many people as possible and ultimately, observing activities at the roughly 8 500 polling stations around the country.

Graham posits that the international community can contribute little more to the voter education programmes being run by local political and non-government organisations.

"Their real task will be to make sure voters are registered, that the campaign is free and fair and that voters can reach the polling stations."

In practice, this may not be as easy as it sounds. Transport for voters on election day has the

potential to spark violence if it is not provided on a non-partisan basis.

There are still about 2 million voters without identity documents, although it has now been agreed that temporary voter cards will be issued to speed up voter registration.

It may also be difficult for international observers to attend every mass political event due to poor infrastructure in some areas and the fact that notice of rallies will not always be timely.

In many respects, the April election will be a new experience for even the most practised election watchers, and much will depend on their ability to respond effectively within their mandate to unpredictable crises.



Watching . . . this is what thousands of UN monitors will be doing in the weeks before the election.

UN 'optimistic over democracy in SA'

Star 15/2/94

■ OWN CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — The United Nations mission in South Africa, which has attended close to 10 000 meetings and events during the past 16 months, is very optimistic about the outcome of moves towards a democracy, says mission chief Angela King.

Speaking during a panel discussion on "The quest for democracy — which way forward for Africa?" at yesterday's session of the International Press Institute's general assembly, King said the April 27 election was not being held "in a vacuum" but was the culmination of three years' effort.

She did not want to paint an

unrealistic picture about election prospects, but believed South Africans had "moved forward to a degree that precludes this country from ever going back to where it has come from". (336)

The National Peace Accord of September 1991 remained South Africa's primary forum for conflict resolution and it was of the utmost importance to reinforce the gains already made.

The Goldstone Commission had the credibility to play "a crucial watchdog role".

The commission would be used to investigate allegations of intimidation during the election.

► In search of media to serve the truth — Page 15

UN contract opportunity

SA ENTERPRISES could look forward to exploiting \$1,5bn in supply contracts to UN projects this year, officials said yesterday.

Senior UN officials will brief SA firms this week on the possibility of linking into the lucrative procurement contracts, Sapa reports.

UN Inter-Agency Procurement Services head Peter Adler told a news conference the global organisation looked to source supplies for a project close to the sites. "If we have projects in Africa we buy in Africa," he said.

Of the estimated \$3,5bn in total UN procurement last year, 35%-40% of the amount was tied up with projects in Africa while 35% of the supplies were sourced from the continent.

"The opportunities hold extraordinary potential for the country's economic growth, if local executives seize them," said Piet Steyn, CE of the Rennies Group, which is sponsoring the conference.

With the formal lifting of economic sanctions late last year, SA firms are now eligible to compete directly for about 200 000 UN supply contracts awarded each year.

The UN's supply contracts relate to agricultural products, building materials, chemicals,

food, vehicles, pharmaceuticals, and electronic and telecommunications equipment.

JOHN DLUDLU reports UN officials told the news conference many agencies of the organisation would soon open procurement offices in SA. These included the UN Population Fund, the UN Industrial Development Organisation and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

UNHCR senior purchasing officer of supply and transport services Lucie Poirier said the establishment of an office in Johannesburg would create enormous demand for vehicles, as the office would service southern Africa.

Food and Agriculture Organisation administrative director Dominique Alheritiere said jobs would be given to local people first.

Discussions would be held with government departments and local small business to assist them in taking full advantage of the UN agencies' procurement opportunities.

The agencies which will take part in today's conference include the UN's industrial development organisation, population fund, and development programme as well as the UNHCR and World Food Programme.

UN opens door to SA suppliers

(Sittewo (Buss))

12/12/197

By SVEN LUNSCHE

SOUTH Africa's motor manufacturers will benefit almost immediately from United Nations supply contracts, all of which will be worth about \$1.5-billion (R4-billion) in Africa this year.

The scrapping of almost all remaining sanctions by the UN in September last year not only lifted outstanding trade barriers, but enabled SA companies for the first time to become official suppliers to all the world body's agencies.

Peter Adler, the head of the UN's Inter-Agency Procurement Services Office (IAPSO), says his organisation is meeting car manufacturers about the supply of up to 1 000 vehicles.

This is over and above the number of cars required for the UN observers of SA's elections.

It is believed that the parent companies of the car-makers are involved in the negotiations to avoid a conflict of interest and allow SA manufacturers to supply cars to UN representatives as far away as Kenya.

Other SA companies also stand a good chance of gaining a large share of UN work in Africa.

UN agencies are trying to obtain their needs from the country or region that receives assistance.

Mr Adler, who as head of IAPSO sets procurement guidelines for all UN agencies, says the organisation

spent about \$3.5-billion in project and development aid last year.

Although almost 40% of this amount was spent in Africa, only 35% of supplies were obtained from developing countries worldwide, says Mr Adler.

This obviously opens the door for SA companies.

Several UN agencies announced at a conference, hosted this week by Rennie, that they would open procurement offices in Johannesburg soon to serve Southern Africa.

They include the UN Population Fund, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the UN Industrial Development Organisation.

Apart from them, the World Health Organisation (WHO), the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), the UN Development Programme, the World Food Programme (WFP) and the UN Children's Fund (Unicef) took part at the conference.

Piet Steyn, chief executive of Rennie, says: "The involvement and nature of UN agencies in development programmes and projects in African markets hold extraordinary potential for SA companies."

Outlining procurement procedures, Mr Adler says each agency compiles its own register of poten-

tial suppliers. To qualify for UN contracts companies have to register with the agencies. They should supply their financial and service credentials and provide catalogues listing products and related services.

Once on the list, companies will be told about contracts.

Because the average supply needs of most UN agencies amount to less than \$30 000 a contract, small firms may apply, says Mr Adler.

"Our most important criteria for awarding contracts are quality and affordability."

UN agencies outlined their supply requirements at this week's conference. They include:

World Food Programme: This UN agency co-ordinates food assistance to developing countries. It is the largest buyer of food and services in developing nations. The total bill was \$600-million in 1992.

The four major requirements are food, non-food, transport and related services and sub-contracting services.

SA could supply beans, maize, sorghum, sugar, wheat, flour, cheese, biscuits and dried milk and other processed foods.

UNHCR: Its activities in Southern Africa are centred on help for refugees from Mozambique and Angola. Supplies needed for refugees include shelter materials, supply and treatment equipment for water,



BIG BUYER... Peter Adler, looking for quality the UN can afford

drugs, medical equipment, cloth, household utensils, educational material, hand tools for farming and seeds.

FAO: This organisation, which funds and advises on agricultural projects, spent \$300-million in sub-Saharan Africa in 1993. Most of the money was used to buy agro-chemicals and fertilisers, seed and equipment for transport and offices.

Unicef: It has begun operations in

SA and expects to buy commodities for aid programmes here and in nearby countries. Purchases are mainly medical supplies, including syringes, vaccines, medicines and water and sanitation equipment.

WHO: In carrying out its activities, mainly the provision of basic health services, the WHO buys insecticides, medicines, hospital equipment, diagnostics, chemicals and laboratory equipment.

NEWS

Avoid SA, Australians told

Bloodshed mustn't stop poll — UN

Star 30/3/94

■ BY MIKE LITTLEJOHN

New York — In its first official response to the violence in Johannesburg, the UN Security Council last night deplored the bloodshed "in the strongest possible terms" and concluded that it was clearly aimed at derailing the transition process.

After lengthy private consultations, the council issued a formal statement declaring that intimidation, violence and provocation could not be permitted to deny South Africans "their opportunity to join the community of democratic states".

Eschew violence

The council called on all the people of South Africa "to eschew violence" and voiced hopes that all parties would participate peacefully in the elections.

"The council reiterates the importance it attaches to the holding of the first general, free and democratic elections in South Africa on April 27 1994, as previously agreed upon," the statement said.

"The council considers that this question is of the utmost importance and is determined to follow the election process closely."

The statement was read by Jean-Bernard Merimee, the French ambassador, who is council president this month.

■ Australians have been warned not to travel to South Africa until the end of May because of wors-

IT is vital that violence, and intimidation are not allowed to derail the elections, says the Security Council

ening violence, John Dunn reports. (336)

The Austrian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade issued the warning yesterday saying all non-essential travel there should be deferred until one month after the coming elections.

The statement came after Monday's gunfighting in central Johannesburg marked the first time black factional trouble had spread to the heart of the country's main city.

Meanwhile, the Melbourne Herald-Sun in an editorial today demanded that the Australian cricket team come home immediately.

Obscene

"It is obscene that 22 men in white flannels are playing Test cricket in the Durban sun as 31 people lie dead in the bloodied streets of Johannesburg," it said.

"But moral considerations aside, it is the height of folly to have our cricketers exposed in arenas for the four one-day matches still to come when Canberra is warning other Australians not to go to South Africa."

ew role • Putco restores services in Soweto

SA 'has reached a turning point'

Sowetan 6/5/94

By Richard Steyn
Editor In Chief, *The Star*

■ **ROLE MODEL** United Nations'
Boutros-Ghali lends his support:

GENEVA — The new South Africa will be asked to help mediate in world trouble spots, believes United Nations secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

In an interview in his Geneva office on the eve of his first official visit to South Africa, Boutros-Ghali said South Africa's transition to democracy offered a lesson to all UN member states.

The UN chief, scheduled to arrive in Johannesburg at the weekend to attend

next week's inauguration of President-elect Nelson Mandela, added candidly that the visit would boost his own morale.

Besides coming to lend support to the conclusion of an important success story, he said, "we have been confronted ... by so many setbacks and difficulties, we just want to enjoy it".

Boutros-Ghali said the wisdom of South African leaders who had been

able to promote reconciliation in spite of the past could provide a valuable role model. He believed South Africa's admission into the African family of nations could be a turning point in the history of Africa.

South Africa's position in Africa and its technical, economic and military expertise would lead to the UN asking it to help in peacekeeping and other operations.

(336)

UN to lift arms embargo on SA

24/5/94
New York — The UN Security Council decided in principle yesterday to lift a mandatory arms embargo it imposed on South Africa in 1977 and will adopt a formal resolution to that effect tomorrow, council sources said.

(336)
The arms-ban is one of the last remaining UN sanctions against South Africa.

South Africa has yet to regain its seat in the General Assembly and related UN bodies from which it was suspended in 1974. This could happen some time next month.

Non-binding sanctions voted by the General Assembly in the economic, business, sports and cultural fields were all lifted in recent years as the country moved towards non-racial democracy.

South Africa's First Deputy President Thabo Mbeki is expected to attend tomorrow's council meeting, as are Deputy Foreign Minister Aziz Pahad and the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Rusty Evans.

The UN Committee Against Apartheid is due to visit South Africa in early June to prepare the final report that will enable South Africa to reclaim its General Assembly seat.

While suspended, Pretoria has refused to pay its UN dues or its share of UN peacekeeping costs, which total about R365 million since 1977. Some arrangement is expected to be made about the debt before it regains its assembly seat.

Despite the suspension, South Africa has always remained a UN member. Prime Minister Jan Smuts was a signatory to the UN Charter in 1945. — Sapa-Reuter.

back

Mbeki commits country to world peacekeeping role

UN welcomes SA

Star 26/5/94

■ BY PETER FABRICIUS
STAR BUREAU

New York — Deputy President Thabo Mbeki has broadly committed the new South African Government to playing a role in international peacekeeping and peacemaking, especially in Africa.

He told the United Nations Security Council yesterday, as it lifted the last UN sanctions on SA — the 1977 arms embargo — that SA would help the world as it had been helped in its hour of need.

Mbeki, who, as the ANC's head of international affairs, was instrumental in isolating the National Party government — also said yesterday that SA could resume its seat at the UN General Assembly almost immediately.

The deputy president told reporters before his address that the president of the UN General Assembly, Samuel Insanally of Guyana, had told him yesterday that SA could simply occupy its seat — "maybe as soon as tomorrow".

Credentials

But Mbeki said the Government would first hold discussions with the UN to discuss the legal implications of restoring the UN credentials which SA lost in 1972.

One matter that would need to be discussed was SA's outstanding UN membership dues, totalling more than \$100 million (about R360 million).

But Mbeki said he did not foresee any problem. "I think an agreed solution will be arrived at. Everyone has agreed we should start functioning as a full member of the UN as soon as possible."

Mbeki said at an earlier

WE WILL help the world as it helped us in our hour of need, Security Council told as last sanctions are lifted

(336)

press briefing that there was a general expectation that SA would now play a role in peacekeeping and peacemaking, especially in Africa.

He said it was "somewhat early for the new Government to have concrete plans. But we are sensitive to the fact that the world helped us in our hour of need. To the extent that we can help... we will be willing to assist."

He said there had been "no prior determination" to contribute SA troops to UN peacekeeping missions.

Mbeki noted that SA was already playing an international role through its diplomatic intervention in the Lesotho conflict and its humanitarian and mine-clearing help to Mozambique and Angola.

On the Rwanda crisis, Mbeki said American Vice-President Al Gore had told the new SA Government that because of its history it would bring "a certain moral authority" to international conflicts.

Mbeki said the Government was ready to begin discussions on the Rwandan conflict with the OAU, the UN, the contending parties in Rwanda and the Tanzanian government.

Until these were concluded he could not say whether SA would become involved in Rwanda. "The Government is too new to have discussed these matters in detail."

► **OAU welcomes SA back — Page 3**

SA wants seat on UN council

Political Correspondent

CT 4/8/94
SOUTH AFRICA aimed to become a permanent member of the UN Security Council, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Aziz Pahad said yesterday (336)

He told a parliamentary select committee on Foreign Affairs of a proposal that Africa be given a permanent seat on the council. "We believe that South Africa should have that seat."

UN committee seeks aid for SA

Star Feb 1994

■ OWN CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — A major aid package for South Africa is to be proposed by the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid.

A high-level delegation of the committee, which led the fight against apartheid at the world body over the years, is in South Africa on a fact-finding mission to enable the committee to submit

a final report and recommendations to the General Assembly of the UN.

After this it will disband.

The delegation is under the leadership of Nigerian permanent representative at the UN, Professor Ibrahim Gambari. (336)

It will meet President Mandela and Deputy Presidents Thabo Mbeki and F W de Klerk. It will also have interviews with

other ministers and political leaders as well as leaders in business, labour, religious and academic institutions.

Professor Gambari has expressed satisfaction at the progress towards national unity and the elimination of violence since the first democratic and non-racial election.

He expressed the hope that the international community would support South Africa's re-

construction and economic development plans.

He said the final report of the committee would reflect the Government's efforts in these areas.

It would urge the international community to help by providing generous assistance and encouraging investment in South Africa.

A delegation of the committee visited South Africa for the first time last year.

UN kills the fattened calf as Nzo leads South African return

PETER FABRICIUS
The Argus Foreign Service

336

WASHINGTON. — South Africa resumes its seat in the General Assembly of the United Nations tomorrow with some fanfare after 20 years in isolation.

The South African delegation to the UN, headed by Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo, will fill the long-vacant seats behind the South Africa sign about mid-morning after the 184-member General Assembly has considered — and almost certainly en-

dorsed the report of the nine-member committee recommending that the credentials that were taken away in 1974 be returned.

The committee casually approved South Africa's application at a meeting lasting a few minutes last week, without even mentioning the country by name.

But there will be more ceremony tomorrow. The South African delegation, including Foreign Affairs director-general Rusty Evans and the ambassador to the UN, Jim Steward, will

wait at the side of the General Assembly chamber while it considers the credentials committee's recommendation.

Once it has endorsed the recommendation, it will ask the South African delegation to take its proper place in the body of the assembly, and is likely to receive a standing ovation.

The assembly will then consider — presumably for the last time — an agenda item on apartheid.

The Special Committee Against Apartheid will deliver its final report, Mr Nzo will address the assembly and

there will be a vote on a resolution to scrap the apartheid committee and re-admit South Africa.

About 30 speakers from other countries are expected to take part in the debate, including many foreign ministers who will be in New York for the annual meeting of the group of 77 nations — which Mr Nzo will address the next day.

There was some consideration inside the South African government about postponing the resumption of the UN seat until the start of the next General Assembly session in September,

when President Mandela could have headed the delegation.

But it was decided to do it now so that South Africa can start playing a part in all the UN's activities as soon as possible. It will resume its seat before the problem of its \$100 million arrears to the UN has been resolved.

The UN has agreed to shelve this matter for now.

South Africa's return to the assembly and its related bodies will mark the repeal of the last remaining UN penalty imposed on Pretoria in response to apartheid.



South Africa's return to the United Nations' General Assembly yesterday is reviewed by Gerald L'Ange, who covered its exclusion in 1974 while stationed in New York as The Star's UN correspondent



Country that came in from the cold

(336)

For 20 years the lone empty seat in the crowded chamber was a memorial of a victory over apartheid but also a reminder that the battle was not yet won.

Now at last the battle is over, apartheid has gone and yesterday South Africa resumed the seat in the United Nations' General Assembly from which it was barred on November 12 1974.

A standing ovation greeted Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo as he took the seat from which his predecessor, P.W. Botha, was excluded to applause of a different kind.

It has taken two decades for the jeers to turn to cheers, in which time a lot of water has flowed under history's bridge, much of it bloodied from the struggle against white domination in southern Africa.

The fight to bar apartheid South Africa from the General Assembly was itself one in which no holds were barred. In the end, it put Africa's demand for justice up against the First World's regard for legality.

The ruling by the then General Assembly president, Abdelaziz Boueffla of Algeria, that apartheid's delegates might not take their seats disregarded the long-standing finding by UN legal counsel that South Africa could not legally be barred from the assembly even though its credentials had been rejected.

It was on the basis of that finding that the 1970 president, Edward Hambro of Norway, had ruled that South Africa could not be excluded.

His ruling held good until 1974, when the African militants got their own man, Boueffla, into the assembly.

whelpingly endorsed by 91 votes to 22 with 19 abstentions.

As the electronic voting boards flashed the result, the normally sedate chamber resounded to the cheers of the Africans and their supporters, including the representatives of the South African and Namibian liberation movements in the seats reserved for diplomats and observers.

The first to applaud was David Sibeko of the PAC. Glanched flits were held high. Western delegates sat silent.

The historic General Assembly vote became a turning point in the struggle against apartheid. It gave a new legitimacy to more extreme measures and may have bestowed new respectability on the ANC's decision in 1961 to resort to armed struggle.

By demonstrating that the illegality of the UN charter could be overridden by majority demands, it changed the nature of the world body and undermined the dominance of the permanent members of the Security Council.

Stature reduced

Some expressed the view at the time that the vote had badly damaged the stature and credibility of the UN as a whole.

Given the low esteem in which it is held today that may have turned out to be true.

Others might argue, however, that as a result of the 1974 vote the UN became a more representative body, more attuned to the needs of its Third World majority and less constrained by a charter that had been written by Western powers — with a major contribution from South Africa's

fore legality if the UN had not been controlled in the ultimate by the five permanent members of the Security Council, whose Western majority had blocked attempts to expel South Africa from the world body.

These arguments will continue after South Africa's return. But this time South Africa will be on the other side, a member of the African bloc.

As a member of the Organisation of African Unity, into which it was formally received at the conference in Tunis this month, South Africa will be expected to vote with the African bloc when Africa's interests are at stake.

It will, of course, be free to put its own interests first, and no doubt will, but if this means voting differently from the bloc it could be politically painful, if not damaging.

When Nzo entered the General Assembly chamber yesterday he was accompanied by the South African ambassador to the UN, Jim Steward, and for Steward and history turned full circle.

A veteran UN diplomat, he was a member of the South African delegation during the events that led to its exclusion from the assembly in 1974.

While South Africa thereafter remained a member of the UN and maintained a peripheral presence at the New York headquarters, its participation was limited largely to defensive appearances before the Security Council.

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from the cold

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It was on the basis of that finding that the 1970 president, Edvard Hambro of Norway, had ruled that South Africa could not be excluded.

His ruling held good until 1974, when the African militants got their own man, Bouteflika, into the assembly chair and he promptly upended Hambro.

Quickly challenged by the United States, Bouteflika's ruling was put to the vote and over-

whelmingly endorsed by 91 votes to 22 with 19 abstentions.

As the electronic voting boards flashed the result, the normally sedate chamber resounded to the cheers of the Africans and their supporters, including the representatives of the South African and Namibian liberation movements in the seats reserved for diplomats and observers.

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They might argue that it would never have been necessary for the Third World majority to put political expediency be-

fore legality if the UN had not been controlled in the ultimate by the five permanent members of the Security Council, whose Western majority had blocked attempts to expel South Africa from the world body.

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When Nzo took his seat as South Africa's first black occupant, he might have got some amusement from the knowledge that it was from the same seat that one of his predecessors, Eric Louw, once defended apartheid at a time when the National Party thought the sun would never set on the policy.

SA is officially back in 'its proper place'

■ BY PETER FABRICIUS
WASHINGTON BUREAU

New York — South Africa's long years of international isolation ended officially yesterday when Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo resumed SA's seat in the United Nations General Assembly after an absence of 20 years. **2416 1994**

After the assembly voted unanimously to restore SA's credentials — taken away in November 1974 — General Assembly president S R Insanally invited the SA delegation to "take its proper place".

The assembly then applauded as Nzo, UN ambassador Jim Steward, director-general of foreign affairs Rusty Evans, Tebago Mafole, political adviser in the office of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, deputy head of UN mission Ferdi Berg and Nzo's private secretary took their seats.

For Steward and Mafole the moment had special emotional significance. Steward was deputy head of SA's delegation when it was kicked out in 1974. Mafole was the last head of the ANC's mission to the UN before that mission was disbanded recently. The moment symbolically ended SA's years of international isolation and the

international community's fight against apartheid.

The assembly voted to end the UN's Special Committee Against Apartheid which had directed the UN's opposition to SA for 31 years.

"The struggle against apartheid has become a mission accomplished," the chairman of the committee, Nigeria's Ibrahim Gambari said. And the assembly formally removed the standing item on the elimination of apartheid which has been on the agenda every year for three decades. **(336)**

SA's resumption of its seat means that it will now participate fully in assembly debates.

"A new South Africa now takes its place among the family of nations," UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-ghali said in welcome. The fight against apartheid — "the most important fight of the century" — was finally over.

Nzo thanked the international community and United Nations for their support, "a critical factor in our final victory over apartheid. Your constant involvement and assistance throughout those long years is something South Africa's people will never forget".

► **Country that came in from the cold — Page 17**

UN General Assembly welcomes Nzo, 'excuses' SA's \$100m arrears

SIMON BARBER

24 Feb 1974

NEW YORK — SA was yesterday welcomed back into full membership of the UN General Assembly after a 20-year absence, but made clear it could not afford to pay the nearly \$100m it owes in dues unpaid since the previous government was ousted from the world body in 1974.

However, in a carefully worded speech, Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo indicated that SA would pay this year's assessment — about \$10.5m — and all following ones.

Well-placed sources said this was what he meant when he said that, in keeping with commitments made to the OAU in Tu-

nis and to the Commonwealth, "the democratic government of national unity will, as a matter of principle, meet its financial obligations associated with membership of international organisations".

He said SA's resources were limited "for anything which falls outside" the reconstruction and development programme, "as government spending has been significantly cut to meet these new demands".

Under the UN Charter members more than two years in arrears are barred from voting in the assembly. However, members adopted a consensus resolution

exempting SA from this rule. The resolution, sponsored by Nigeria, declared that SA's arrears "were due to conditions beyond its control" and the loss of vote provision should not apply. The implication is that although the issue remains open, it will not block SA's participation in the UN.

Nzo said SA "is ready to support the UN in all its efforts to promote global peace and prosperity as best we can" and was eager to "contribute to international upliftment projects".

He said SA had offered Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali "a number of armed personnel carriers" for peace-keeping in Rwanda "assuming they will meet the UN's operational requirements and that mutually satisfactory terms for their use will be negotiated".

SA would also provide high-energy food, water purification tablets, medicines and blankets, focusing the aid on "traumatised children and pregnant women".

The assembly applauded Nzo and his delegation as they entered the chamber to occupy SA's long vacant seats.

The minister was accompanied by his director-general Rusty Evans, UN ambassador Jim Stewart and Tebogo Mafote, former chief of the ANC observer mission.

The assembly wound up the last elements of its anti-apartheid apparatus, including the Special Committee against Apartheid and the UN Trust Fund for SA.

The \$640 000 left in the fund will be used for education and training projects in SA. The assembly asked the secretary-general to appoint a "high-level co-ordinator" for UN development programmes in SA.

AS FOREIGN Minister Alfred Nzo and his delegation proceeded through the UN General Assembly to resume SA's seat after a 20-year absence last Thursday, the thought occurred: was this really necessary? Is the General Assembly a club worth belonging to? Or was SA simply regaining a rather expensive place for members of its permanent mission, and the occasional visiting minister, to snooze?

SA was back in its chair by lunchtime. Nine hours later, member state representatives were still ascending the green marble podium to hail apartheid's end and congratulate themselves for their "pivotal" role in ending it. Most said exactly the same thing, all of it duly translated into many languages and recorded for posterity (as if the world was anxiously awaiting every word and would be perusing the texts for centuries to come).

Mindless blather is essentially what the Assembly — not to be confused with the altogether more serious Security Council — does day after day with a completely straight face. For the most part, it is a giant, labour-intensive wind machine. One can't help wondering whether the thousands who make it run would not be as fruitfully employed digging holes and filling them in again.

That, at any rate, would be more honest work, if a little harder on the hands. For not only does the Assembly generate wind, it generates meretricious wind. There was something especially noisome about the spectacle of Nigeria's representative, Ibrahim Garbary, chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, basking in SA's attainment of democracy at the very instant his own government was throwing its elected president into the slammer.

Herein lies perhaps the most serious defect of the General Assembly. By putting failed and vicious states on an equal footing with relatively virtuous ones, it encourages amorality. Nobody is going to tell Garbary that the regime he represents is a disgrace. He is a member of the club. Thus does the Assembly allow thugs to think they are immune.

SA puts the UN General Assembly in its proper place

By Simon Barber
28/6/94
(336)

SIMON BARBER in Washington

The UN is premised on the fiction that there is something noble, wise and idealistic called the international community. In a sense, the international community is a cult. The Assembly is its shrine. A principal way the cult is sustained is ritual purification, similar to the ancient Athenian practice of ostracism.

Just as Athenians annually expelled one of their citizens, so the Assembly cleanses itself from time to time by sacrificing a member. Thus was SA thrown overboard in 1974 in total disregard of the UN Charter. The latter stipulates that the only ground for expulsion is non-payment of dues. No matter. The credentials committee simply lifted SA's credentials on the theory (uncontestable in itself) that the SA delegation did not represent its people. Of course, had the logic been applied universally, the Assembly would be permanently as empty as it generally is whenever a debate is scheduled to start.

During its prolonged absence, SA has done something virtually none of those who militated most hard for its ostracism have done themselves. It has reinvented itself as a genuine constitutional democracy. This is rather bad news for the high priests of the international community cult. At the most basic level, it puts a lot of them out of work. There is a gaping hole in the Assembly's agenda now that the "question of the

elimination of apartheid" has been removed. Legions were employed in answering the question by writing reports, holding conferences, administering grants, producing radio and television programmes, even curating a touring exhibit of anti-apartheid art. The latter, we are told, "played an important role in rallying international opposition to the apartheid system". Really.

Without apartheid to cast a broad concealing shadow over the sins of other governments, the hypocrisy of the priests at last may be thrown into proper relief. Nzo told the Assembly last week: "We believe SA can now serve as an example and an inspiration to the world." That is precisely what a lot of Assembly members fear most. As a beacon (an early draft of Nzo's speech contained the word), SA now threatens to shine a light on the shortcomings of others.

Of course, it might seem a little ungrateful (not to mention arrogant) if the new government were to start preaching more directly. The UN did, after all, succour apartheid's opponents through very dark years and it would be wrong to suggest the anti-apartheid bureaucracy did nothing positive. A case might even be made that the UN's observer mission in SA contributed to the success of the elections, but that was a Security Council matter.

Nzo did indeed say thank you. However, one senses that the new government sees itself (not without some justice) as something special, and that its relationship with the UN is going to be driven by more than gratitude. This is particularly evident in its handling of the arrears question. Accounts released by the UN Secretariat on May 6 showed that as of April 30, SA owed \$97 988 171 in unpaid dues and peace-

keeping assessments. It isn't going to pay. Instead, it has said that it will ante up what it would owe if it had been a member since the beginning of this year. Or slightly less. SA officials put the figure at around \$10.5m. According to the official accounts, it is \$12 325 063.

The UN is broke. Deadbeat members owe it more than \$3bn. Many would like to get out of paying. As a result, there are fears that forgiving SA's debt could set a precedent. To which the government has effectively replied, that's your problem: we have better and more pressing things to do with our money.

Earlier this year, there was a suggestion the difficulty could be resolved through what would essentially be a bookkeeping transaction. SA would give the UN the cash, which would then be channelled back in the form of development grants. SA, well aware of the fecklessness with which the UN spends other people's money, said not likely.

Last week, under a lot of pressure from Zimbabwe, Nigeria and other African countries anxious to be in the new SA's good books, the Assembly adopted a resolution accepting that SA had fallen into arrears "due to conditions beyond its control", and should therefore, "as an exceptional measure", be exempted from the Charter's provision denying members voting rights if they are more than two years in debt. The issue, said the resolution, "will not arise".

As far as government is concerned, that was it, question closed. The fact that there continued to be rumblings — the European Union, for example, Uriah Heepishly said it was "ready to participate constructively in the discussion of the matter" — was water off the back of Nzo and his advisers. They also brushed aside suggestions that SA somehow be asked to pay off its debt in kind with contributions to peacekeeping and relief efforts.

Their attitude was that the UN should be grateful that it was getting the full payment for this financial year, ending in September, rather than a pro-rated fraction. That's the right attitude. After all, it's not as if the Assembly is doing SA any great favour by letting it back in. If anything, it's the other way around.



□ NZO

Africa 'should have permanent UN seat'

NEW YORK — Military-ruled Nigeria says Africa should have a permanent seat on the UN Security Council and has reasserted its own candidacy to join the exclusive club of world powers with a UN veto.

Foreign Minister Baba Gana Kingibe also used his speech to the UN General Assembly to defend his military government's commitment to democracy, which he said had been misconstrued.

"The resolve and commitment of the Nigerian people and government to democracy remain firm and unshakeable in the full realisation that the task of democratisation is primarily our responsibility, and is for the good of the nation," Mr Kingibe said.

His speech coincided with the swearing-in in Abuja of a new and exclusively military ruling council by the country's military leader Sani Abacha, who sacked the council's only civilian members but still pledged to move towards civilian rule.

General Abacha seized power in a military coup in November.

Some members of the Security Council have expressed reservations over extending permanent membership to Nigeria because of the absence of democratic rule there.

Mr Kingibe said activities by political parties leading to general elections would begin next year, but he offered no date for elections. — Sapa-AFP.



id about the abduction of popular singer Lounes Matoub. kidnappers, the Berber Cultural Movement cancelled its amentalist militants unless Matoub was freed unharmed.

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(336) ARG 29/9/94

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ARG 29/9/94 (337)

Legal experts will seek to reinstate Moshoeshoe

MASERU. — Lesotho's restored prime minister said legal experts from South Africa, Botswana and Zimbabwe would arrive in the kingdom this week to help find a viable way of reinstating deposed King Moshoeshoe.

Ntsu Mokhehle told parliament in its first sitting since the ex-monarch's son, King Letsie, sparked a crisis in the

southern African mountain state by dissolving his government, that the restoration of Moshoeshoe would take time.

"The restoration of the former king is not purely a political matter capable of accomplishment within a short time," Mr Mokhehle said, adding that the three neighbouring states had the expertise

and commitment to help the impoverished kingdom of 1.6 million people.

Mr Mokhehle was restored to power almost a month after his August 17 sacking by the king, which sparked protest marches in which five people were killed, strikes that paralysed the kingdom, international condemnation and threats of sanctions. — Sapa-Reuter.

focus on the UN

FOR the first time South Africa will today mark United Nations Day to commemorate the United Nations charter which came into force on October 24, 1945.

During its 49 years of existence, the United Nations (UN) played a significant role in opposing apartheid — and until the change in the political order it was a prominent outsider that lobbied against the excesses of the National Party government.

Now South Africa has taken its place at the UN table and with this seat comes a whole range of expectations.

"South Africa is a significant player in Africa. The political changes in this country have been a source of inspiration for the rest of the world," United Nations Press officer Fidellis Swai said this week.

"With South Africa now part of the global family, it will be expected to play a bigger role in world affairs ... it will have to contribute towards the changes that are happening everywhere," he added.

In the past, most of the world — brought together by the UN — was united against South Africa and apartheid.

It fiercely fought against this "crime against humanity" through numerous resolutions prohibiting trade and contact with this country.

Now the tide has turned and it is time for South Africa to pay back. Today's UN Day commemoration in South Africa will be marked by a special media briefing in Johannesburg. Traditionally heads of state make pronouncements on the year ahead. Joint work is assessed and issues are addressed. An address by President Nelson Mandela will be read on his behalf by Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Aziz Pahad.

The heads of UN agencies in the country — UNICEF, World Bank, UN Development Programme, World Health Organisation and UN High Commission for Refugees — will also make statements on their roles and future tasks.

The scene has already been set for greater South African involvement in world affairs.

In his address to the UN general assembly on October 3, President Mandela said:

"Democratic South Africa rejoins the world community of nations determined to play its role in helping to strengthen the United Nations and to contribute what it can to the furtherance of its purposes."

Mandela committed South Africa to upholding all the conventions and covenants of the world body and said the Government had an "irrevocable" commitment to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The expectations are high. South Africa is likely to be called on to play a peace-keeping role in war-torn former Yugoslavia or even

Sowetan 2/4/10/94
With apartheid rule over, South Africa's relationship with the United Nations is entering a new phase. UN Press officer Fidellis Swai talks to Reporter **Sharon Chetty** about the expectations the



President Nelson Mandela

336

Rwanda.

South Africa's intervention in Lesotho and Mandela's meeting with Haiti's Jean-Bertrand Aristide at the request of US President Bill Clinton, have already pointed the way.

An example of strategic UN assistance to South Africa was the observer mission during the April election — one of the largest the world body has undertaken.

The UN deployed 2527 personnel in this country and assisted with 120 polling stations in 57 countries in the rest of the world.

Already there is co-operation with UN agencies in health and education programmes.

As a regional superpower, South African expertise will be drawn on when repairs are done in civil-war devastated Mozambique — a neigh-

bour the former government did its utmost to destabilise. And a prominent South African, Judge Richard Goldstone, is heading the Yugoslavian war crimes court.

"People look at South Africa and see a nation that managed to overcome apartheid and is now committed to a Bill of Rights.

"There are many lessons for others in that. Development work and upholding human rights are crucial tasks that South Africa can lead the way in," Swai said.

He predicts that South Africa, will, within the next five years, be able to apply for a permanent position on the UN Security Council — the most powerful group in the world body.

"In the past the UN was South Africa's enemy ... now they are partners," Swai said.

SA owes R365-m in dues to UN

Star

■ BY MIKE LITTLEJOHN

New York — With negotiations on South Africa's UN dues still uncompleted, the republic now is the second largest debtor for the regular budget and the fourth largest overall.

Figures for the end of November, just released, show that member states owed the organisation \$2 billion (R7,1 billion), of which \$510 million (R1 811 million) was for the regular budget and \$1,5 billion (R5,3 billion) for peacekeeping. 911219A

The United States led the debtors' list with \$666 million (R2 345,6 million) owed overall, including \$270million (R959 million) for the regular budget and \$396 million (R1 406 million) for peacekeeping. (336)

SA's overall debt was \$103 million (R365,85 million) with \$57 million (R202,4 million) owed on the regular budget. It is assumed the country will have much of its debt excused, given the denial of its participation rights for 20 years.

ARG 25/4/95

After decades, SA takes chair in the UN General Assembly

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — For the first time in decades a South African has occupied the presidential chair in the UN General Assembly hall.

The review conference of the 178 parties to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty is taking place in the hall and South Africa is a vice-president.

In that capacity, Tom Wheeler, head of the special South African delegation to the conference, sat in for the president yesterday.

Among those paying the ritual tribute to the chair was the Iraqi del-

egate, who delivered a bitter attack on Israel for failing to sign the treaty while allegedly developing its own nuclear weapon.

The last time South Africa held a UN vice-presidency was when Eric Louw was foreign minister in the late 1950s.

Mr Louw is remembered for a "double standards" speech in which he listed states critical of apartheid that discriminated within their societies, including Sweden which, he said, discriminated against its Lap-land people.

allow this. I cannot do more than I can within the four corners of the Constitution. In any case, the matter is coming before this Parliament. The two hon members can then try to convince members of this Parliament to act outside the four corners of the Constitution. For my part, I am not going to be taunted by being reminded that I am a Christian, so that I will act outside the four corners of the Constitution. I really think my brothers here should show more Christian charity than they have shown towards me this afternoon. Debate concluded.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order! Before moving on to Questions, I would just like to appeal to hon members from the Chair that we are all here because we subscribe to and respect the Constitution of South Africa. I would once more like to appeal to hon members to exercise care before attributing racism to any member of this House. We are all hon members and I would like to appeal once more that during the course of debates we should not point fingers at one another, but rather try to nurture the spirit of our bill of rights and our Constitution.

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

Question standing over from Wednesday, 31 May 1995:

UN General Assembly: membership arrears accrued by SA

*10. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs: **716/95 Hansard**
Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 125 on 5 September 1994, a decision has been reached by the United Nations General Assembly as to whether membership arrears accrued by South Africa must be paid; if not, what is the position in this regard; if so, what decision?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

As stated in my reply to Question No 125 of 5 September 1994, South Africa officially resumed participation in the activities of the General Assembly on 23 June 1994, and on that date the General Assembly, adopted Resolution

48/258A, of which operative paragraph 8 reads as follows:

"... to consider, as an exceptional measure, the arrears of South Africa that have accrued to date as being due to conditions beyond its control, and accordingly, that the question of the applicability of Article 19 of the Charter of the United Nations related to the loss of voting rights in the General Assembly in this respect will not arise."

On 3 October 1994, the South African Permanent Representative addressed a letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, informing him that South Africa was making a payment of US \$11 million to the United Nations, this being South Africa's contribution to the budget of the Organisation as from the day South Africa resumed its seat in the General Assembly, ie on 23 June 1994.

On 6 December 1994, the Permanent Mission, in response to a United Nations Secretariat request for a detailed breakdown of how South Africa wished the funds (US \$11 million) to be applied, stipulated that South Africa wished the relevant amount to be allocated to and divided between the Working Capital Fund, Regular Budget and Peacekeeping Operations, as from 23 June 1994.

In this letter, an enquiry was also made as to why the Secretariat was now publicly listing South Africa in United Nations documents as one of the top five debtor states as of 30 September 1994, since, in South Africa's view, the intent of Resolution 48/258A paragraph 8, was that the Government of National Unity of South Africa should not be held responsible for the accumulated alleged "arrears" incurred by the previous Government.

On 15 February 1995, the Under-Secretary-General for Administration and Management, responding to the Permanent Mission's letters of 3 October 1994 and a subsequent reminder of 6 December replied that the Office of Legal Affairs had:

"... confirmed that paragraph 8 of Resolution 48/258A relates only to Article 19 of the Charter and that the reference to 'arrears accrued to date' in that paragraph is only to establish the basis for providing an exception to the loss of vote in accordance with the provisions of Article 19. These arrears were considered to have accrued 'due to conditions beyond control' of South Africa, thereby resulting in the General Assembly's decision to permit South Africa nevertheless

to vote in the General Assembly. The resolution did not 'forgive' or 'absolve' the accumulated arrears of South Africa up to the date of the resolution."

Thus the question of South Africa's "alleged" arrears of R367 million (US \$102 million) to the United Nations has not yet been resolved, despite our having taken up our full rights and privileges at the General Assembly and payment of US \$11 million to the Working Capital Fund, Regular Budget and Peacekeeping Operations.

The question of South Africa's arrears is now at a political as opposed to an administrative level. The General Assembly will therefore have to resolve the matter and an appropriate resolution will have to be negotiated within the United Nations.

New questions:

KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Legislature: disruptions in Ulundi

*1. Mr L T LANDERS asked the Minister for Safety and Security:

- (1) Whether the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Legislature was disrupted in Ulundi on 10 May 1995 by special protection units of a certain political party, the name of which has been furnished to the South African Police Service for the purpose of his reply; if so, what were the circumstances surrounding this incident;
- (2) whether any adequate security measures were in place at the time; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

N6651E

The DEPUTY MINISTER FOR SAFETY AND SECURITY:

- (1) A Budget Committee meeting held in a conference facility at the Legislative Assembly Building, Ulundi, was disrupted on 9 May 1995 by alleged self-protection unit members.

I am informed that on the day in question, a man claiming to be a Mlaba Camp trainee requested a member of the police, who was performing duties at the pedestrian gate to allow him and a group of

Mlaba Camp trainees access to the complex to attend a meeting with a Mr Lombo who is a government employee.

Mr Lombo's office is situated in the Legislative Assembly complex. A permit was issued to this man. I am also informed that it is standard procedure that if a group enters the complex, only one permit is issued in respect of the entire group. These trainees frequently came to the LA complex to see Mr Lombo and they were therefore not an unfamiliar sight at the building.

The access through the main entrance door was a normal procedure by the police who were satisfied that the people entering were behaving in an orderly fashion.

After a short while singing was heard at one of the flights of stairs in the building. Although the group was singing they were still behaving in an orderly manner. One of the police officials on duty summoned his commander who together with a government employee escorted the people out of the building where they were later addressed by the Director-General and other officials. It was then established that the people were actually looking for Mr Lombo and was directed to the conference facility where the Budget meeting was taking place, as it was suggested that Mr Lombo might be there. After a final analysis of the facts, it was established that the disruption of the Budget Committee was merely a coincidence and was not a planned activity.

- (2) The security arrangements at the time were similar to those that took place when big groups of people entered the building to either attend to administrative aspects or to sit in the gallery when Parliament is in session.

Access to the buildings is permitted by means of a permit system issued at the gates to the LA grounds. This allows the visitor to do his business without interference as it facilitates administrative as well as legislative activities in the two respective buildings. Access to the LA building can therefore not be denied without good reasons.

e for local it elections

BY

period for the local government on Monday, the local task group has begun the election process, leading up to September 22.

The November election will involve the printing of voter lists and a public inspection period on September 7. Eligible voters will be able to raise with the task group any claims about or objections to the printing of these supplementary lists.

This process will be followed by a public inspection of the lists. The court is expected to be signed and certified by July 20 and 29.

On June 5 areas of the country were proclaimed and MECs will determine the names of people in each ward. The court is expected to be signed and certified by July 20 and 29.

On June 5 areas of the country were proclaimed and MECs will determine the names of people in each ward. The court is expected to be signed and certified by July 20 and 29.

transitional authorities will determine the number and delimitation of wards with MECs and the Department of Provincial Administration will be followed by a public hearing and delimitation of wards a decision by MECs and the Department of Provincial Administration.

into wards should be completed by 15 and August 13, with the election requirements completed by September 4, with nominations by September 22.

number of seats will be proposed by applications for seats lodged by parties and the Department of Provincial Administration, with nominations by September 22.

'Poor communication behind hospital chaos'

Kathryn Strachan

THE National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu) yesterday blamed labour tension at Johannesburg Hospital for confusion which occurred at the institution during the Cosatu march on Tuesday.

The hospital complained that services in operating theatres were in total disarray when general assistants left to join the march. Patients already under anaesthetic could not be operated on as there was no one to clean theatres.

However, Baragwanath and Hillbrow hospitals said the demonstration had not disrupted services. A Johannesburg Hospital spokesman said it had been too late to make contingency plans as the union had informed management of the march just before 4pm the previous day. Nehawu said all hospitals were informed last week of the decision to march.

"The trouble at Johannesburg Hospital is that shop stewards and management cannot communicate," said Nehawu president Vusi Nhlapo.

A skeleton staff was in attendance at Johannesburg Hospital theatres, he said. The confusion was caused by tension between shop stewards and management dating back to a 1992 strike.

Popcru said its members did not take part in the march, mainly because the deadlock centred on collective bargaining

with business. There was no dispute on essential services.

Within the next two months the four state hospitals in the Vaal region would have depleted their R90m budget for the financial year, Vaal region chief medical superintendent Dr Norman Kernes said yesterday.

The budget, which was down 30% from last year's, was totally inadequate to maintain the hospitals. Steps had been taken to curtail services, but it was not possible to make further savings without cutting into the salary bill. Kernes could not say what would happen to services once the funds had expired.

"For two months we have been trying to get answers from the Gauteng health department but there has been no response."

Services were curtailed at Vereeniging, Sebokeng, Hendrik van der Bijl and Lenasia hospitals at the end of last month to cut costs. All non-emergency surgery was stopped, general and outpatient services were limited, and private patients were barred.

The decision on private patient admissions was reversed earlier this week after the Medical Association of SA complained it was creating problems at other hospitals.

Other measures were to leave posts which became vacant unfilled. Vaal hospitals were already very short-staffed.

Kernes said hospitals had been instructed that no overspending would be tolerated.

SA lobbying UN countries to set aside R367m in arrears

Adrian Hadland

CAPE TOWN — SA diplomats were currently lobbying UN member countries in a bid to have SA's R367m in fee arrears to the organisation set aside, Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo said yesterday.

Responding to a Parliamentary question time query by DP MP Colin Eglin, Nzo said the issue of the arrears — which accumulated during the period SA was excluded from the UN's general assembly — had become a political rather than an administrative issue.

The UN's general assembly would have to pass a resolution freeing SA of the arrears, Nzo said.

SA was trying to canvass nations to support it.

Once SA had resumed its seat and had its voting rights in the assembly reinstated on June 23 last year, R40m had been forwarded to the UN in respect of fees, Nzo said. This amount was allocated to the UN's working capital fund, its regular budget and towards peacekeeping operation costs.

Despite the payment, as well as a UN resolution acknowledging SA's indebtedness was a result of "conditions beyond its

control" and coincided with its loss of voting rights, SA was still listed as a debtor state late last year.

UN administrators had informed SA's permanent UN mission that a general assembly resolution would be required to settle the arrears question.

The African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), meanwhile, launched an assault in question time yesterday against Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's perceived leniency on pornography.

ACDP MP Louis Green said SA had been subjected to a "flood of pornography" in recent months.

Incidents of rape had increased by 50% since this proliferation, ACDP's Kenneth Meshoe said.

"Innocent women are raped daily by lustful men obsessed by pornography."

ACDP members called on Buthelezi to be as rigorous in his approach to pornography issues as he was concerning the autonomy of KwaZulu/Natal.

Buthelezi said that rather than prohibit pornography, the emphasis should be on managing and regulating it.

A draft Bill was being prepared and would be introduced to Parliament soon.

Debt stands despite 20 years of being excluded from General Assembly

SA owes the UN R606-m

■ BY MIKE LITTLEJOHN
STAR FOREIGN SERVICE

New York — South Africa has moved into the unenviable position of second biggest debtor to the United Nations — after the United States — with no sign that the arrears problem may soon be settled.

Allen Shardelow, the South African mission spokesman, said: "We are trying to work out a (payment) mechanism, but there is no precedent."

He was referring to the fact that the republic's arrears of \$166-million (about R606-million) accumulated in the period after 1974 during which South Africa

was barred from participation in the Assembly and subsidiaries. Shardelow said that negotiations with the UN were continuing on a number of options. The "first prize", as he put it, would be an agreement to waive all debts incurred during the hiatus until the new government reclaimed the seat last year.

The General Assembly will consider the question at its new session, for part of which President Mandela will be present.

But UN officials said any solution would have to be politically motivated since there was no rule that could be invoked to relieve any state of its financial obligations, regardless of

circumstances.

The world body did create a precedent in agreeing last year that South Africa could vote on resolutions, regardless of a rule that would have denied it that prerogative because its debts exceeded two years' dues.

Including South Africa's debt, the UN is currently owed \$2.7-

billion — \$870-million for the regular budget and \$1.8-billion for peacekeeping.

South Africa is fifth among the top five peacekeeping debtors, with arrears of \$52-million — exceeded by France (\$83-million), Ukraine (\$164-million), Russia (\$538-million) and the United States (\$649-million).

(336) Jan 17/79

(33b) 4/21/95

Former UN chief still has a vision of world harmony

The Perfect World is like the Holy Grail – a vision which has been sought by man ever since the slingshot was perfected, the bow and arrow gave way to bullets, and the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

No one in the world of today can really blame anyone for wanting to cross the threshold of ethnic and cultural differences to living in harmony where dialogue is the key to peace, and least of all former United Nations secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar.

De Cuellar held down the job for 10 years, literally keeping the peace while all around him the nations of the world squabbled among themselves while he was in charge of the 50-year-old international organisation.

Now he devotes his energies to the World Commission on Culture and Development, a Unesco organisation of which he is president.

De Cuellar and his colleagues have been in South Africa in recent days to hear the views of many Africans from all over the continent on culture and development and, particularly, African ideas of how "the many problems humanity is facing in the next millennium" can be managed. It will form part of an international report which the WCCD will be publishing later this year on its findings.

De Cuellar said, the object was to obtain a "unity among the diversification of culture". After

UNESCO is trying to find a way to a perfect world, a world in which war is outlawed and genuine dialogue is seen as the way forward. Norman Chandler reports.

listening to hundreds of people all over the globe, the WCCD is now ready to set up a type of code of conduct which would seek to build bridges between cultures, and at the same time "preserve the wealth of religion and of cultures".

De Cuellar says, correctly, "that a decade ago, the environment and protection of the environment was important to humanity. A lot of questions were posed about it. One question was simply what to do about it, and this set in motion a process which would allow people in many countries to begin to look at these issues together."

But, as the WCCD has found, it is not that easy to unite the races on any issue – they have had to deal with political problems.

I asked De Cuellar whether he and his colleagues were not perhaps living in a fool's paradise by painting a picture of what could only be termed a perfect world, and whether the world was ready for dialogue given the apparent

international breakdown in law and order, the war in Bosnia, ethnic violence in Africa, and the fruitless dialogue over the French nuclear tests in the South Pacific.

"The real significance of our work is what is important for us as human beings, and to create a solidarity around all human beings.

"If we don't try, if we keep our scepticism, we will never know. We are not naive. We know there are problems.

"Our intention is to draft a report that people will understand, that will contain crystal-clear recommendations and try to be as persuasive as possible," replied.

Pointing to author Rachel Carson's award-winning book, *Silent Spring*, published in the mid-1950s, De Cuellar and his colleagues say that no one at that time thought that the ecological movement would ever come to anything, but that is precisely what did happen and they are hoping that their ground-breaking work on culture and development will provide the jump-start to meaningful international dialogue.

De Cuellar said: "I think we have to prepare governments and peoples to face the next millennium. My belief is that the UN should dedicate all its efforts to the global problems of terrorism, the environment, infectious diseases and hunger. These don't know borders.

"I think it would be marvellous



Seeking peace and harmony ... former UN chief Javier Perez de Cuellar

and it is important we start thinking, now."

This is not the first time that Unesco has striven to be in the forefront of change.

It regards itself as an observatory which studies and identifies emerging trends and future needs.

To its credit, it put forward the idea of world heritage in the 1960s, and this has resulted in the preservation of monuments and sites, the variety of cultural traditions, and environmental areas. It has also made a huge impact on cultural identity.

UN set to weather another 50 years

(336)

New York - The UN General Assembly opened its 50th annual session yesterday, focusing on ways of reforming and reinvigorating the world body to enable it to meet the challenges of the 21st century. The highlight will be a three-day series of meetings from October 22 to 24 at which 150 heads of state or government will celebrate the anniversary of the organisation founded on the ashes of World War 2.

One of the first actions of the 185-member assembly was the election by acclamation of former Portuguese deputy prime minister Diogo Freitas do Amaral as president of the body.

The 54-year-old Lisbon University law professor was a key figure in building democracy after his country's 1974 revolution which ended decades of authoritarian rule.

A three-week general debate, to be attended by foreign ministers or other senior officials, opens next Monday.

The assembly spends the rest of this week organising the work of its three-month session and assigning 150 agenda items among the plenary body and six main committees.

The United Nations had hoped to mark its 50th anniversary by enlarging the 15-member Security Council and putting its perennially strapped finances in order.

But apart from agreeing the council should somehow be expanded and that UN members should pay their dues on time, both objectives remain elusive.

Freitas do Amaral, in his inaugural address, said the United Nations should be a universal body and called for efforts to ensure that all states which are not yet members should seek to be admitted in the near future.

He did not mention any country by name and only a small number remain outside the UN orbit. - Reuter

The 21st century might be a testing one, counsels Clinton

UN warned to remain relevant

(33b)

Nov 23/10/95



Greetings ... Cuban president Fidel Castro meets his Russian counterpart, Boris Yeltsin, at a lunch in New York yesterday to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the founding of the UN.

PICTURE: AP

United Nations - The world's leaders from US President Bill Clinton to Russia's Boris Yeltsin to Cuba's Fidel Castro paid homage to the United Nations on its 50th anniversary, but could not agree on how to make the world body credible in the 21st century.

Few new proposals emerged to give the United Nations a new vision or pull it back from the verge of bankruptcy during yesterday's opening sessions of the largest gathering in history of presidents, prime ministers, kings and princes.

But at the same time there was no sentiment from any corner of the world to weaken the world body, with many developing countries demanding it take a far greater role in world economic policy and in projects that would benefit them.

While Clinton warned the United Nations that it must reform to remain relevant in the 21st century, many other leaders praised the world organisation for helping resolve conflicts from Cambodia to Namibia.

General Assembly president Diogo Freitas do Amaral of Portugal said reform was necessary but: "We must not allow this organisation to die at the hands of its critics."

Clinton pledged to find ways to make the US Congress pay the \$1.25-billion (about R4.5-billion) owed to the United Nations, mainly for expanding peacekeeping ventures.

He also promised "that the United States will be there with our friends and allies" to help secure peace in Bosnia if

the combatants reach an accord during peace talks next week.

But minutes later Yeltsin said Russia would contribute troops to a peacekeeping force only if they were subject to a strict Security Council mandate, directly opposing Clinton's move to have it commanded by Nato.

The United States and Russia then differed over who should control future peacekeeping troops in Bosnia, a key issue for their all-day meeting today in Hyde Park, New York.

Acid comments were the order of the day, as New Zealand and Japan attacked France and China again over their resumption of nuclear testing.

Iran's Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati condemned what he called United States "economic terrorism" and "self-arrogated leadership" in the United Nations.

And Portuguese President Mario Soares criticised the "outrageous situation" in East Timor whose decolonisation he said had been "brutally interrupted" by 20 years of Indonesian occupation.

But for sheer pageantry, it was Castro who played a starring role in the United Nations and on the streets of New York, turning the city into his stage despite official US efforts to snub him.

Most delegates called for reform of the United Nations, with the smaller countries saying the prestigious Security Council had to be enlarged and the larger states insisting that the bureaucracy had to be pruned. - Reuter.

SA to get UN housing office

JOHANNESBURG: The UN hopes to set up an office in South Africa to help deal with the housing shortage, Mr Wally N'Dow, chief of the UN Conference on Human Settlements, said yesterday.

"We aim, with the government, to have a unit here." — Reuter

336 CT 16/10/95

(336)
ARG 10/10/95

UN insolvency 'causing death, human suffering'

NEW YORK. — In an impassioned appeal to member states "at a moment of grave crisis", United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said the UN's insolvency was causing death and human suffering and the organisation's very life was under threat.

"The United Nations is one of the most important mechanisms in international co-operation, but it is facing the worst financial crisis of its 50-year history," he said.

His remarks were addressed to the World Bank/International Monetary Fund Development Committee.

He pleaded with finance ministers to ensure that their governments paid debts to the UN.

About 70 of the 185 member states had not paid their assessment for the regular budget and troop contributors for UN peacekeeping were owed \$900 million (about R3,2 billion) by the UN, he reported.

As a result, he had to reassess peacekeeping operations. Bosnia alone was costing \$5 million (R18 million) a day.

— The Argus Foreign Service.

Power players ... presidents, premiers and heads of delegation of UN General Assembly nations pose for a group photo at a special commemorative meeting marking the 50th anniversary of the UN yesterday. President Mandela is second from right in the second row.

PICTURE: AP

STAL 23/10/95

New York – US President Bill Clinton opened celebrations of the United Nations' 50th birthday yesterday by urging world leaders to adopt a five-point-plan to combat international crime and terrorism.

Clinton made his plea to about 180 presidents, monarchs and prime ministers gathered for an unprecedented display of pomp and politics held amid the tightest security New York has ever seen.

His plan included signing a Declaration on International Crime and Citizens' Safety which was aimed at telling criminals and terrorists that "you have nowhere to run and nowhere to hide".

Other measures included an international anti-terrorism pact, an offensive on drugs, measures to boost co-operation among national police forces, and a mechanism to track the illegal traffic of arms and hazardous materials.

Clinton paid particular attention to the traffic in hazardous materials, saying "a lump of plutonium no bigger than a soda can is enough to build an atomic bomb".

The meeting, the biggest gathering of world leaders ever in one place, was aimed at saluting the achievements and contemplating the shortcomings of the United Nations since it emerged from the ashes of World War 2.

"The destiny of the United Nations is in your hands," said the president of the special session, Diogo Freitas do Amaral of Portugal. "We must not allow this organisation to die at the hands of its critics."

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali issued a stern rebuke to the United States and other member countries for not paying their dues to the cash-strapped body.

He appealed for a special session on the UN financial crisis, a move sure to embarrass the United States, the largest debtor and the main cause of the organisation's financial woes.

About 70 of the 185 member

states of the United Nations owe it money – more than R10,8-billion. Boutros-Ghali said a session would be necessary if this was not resolved by the year end.

As the meeting got under way, police sealed off surrounding streets and police patrols with scuba divers cruised the East River behind the building.

Thousands of anti-Castro protesters were expected to join a hardcore who spent the night huddled outside the UN building to criticise Cuba's Fidel Castro, who is attending the celebrations on his first visit to New York in 16 years.

All the visiting dignitaries, from superpowers and tiny island

states alike, had five minutes to address the General Assembly except for Clinton who was able to speak longer as host.

Later, bilateral talks will assume prominence, focusing on the major issues of the day: peace negotiations in Bosnia and the Middle East, enlargement of NATO, the spread of terrorism and proliferation of nuclear weapons, and reform of the UN.

Key highlights over the coming days were Clinton's scheduled meetings with his Russian and Chinese counterparts, Boris Yeltsin and Jiang Zemin, and his trilateral summit with the presidents of Croatia and Bosnia. – AFP.

Yeltsin warns on Nato expansion

New York – Russian President Boris Yeltsin warned yesterday that expansion of Nato would create fresh confrontation in Europe and called for the creation of a new security bloc for the entire continent.

"We are against Nato's eastward expansion," he said in an address to the special UN General Assembly marking the organisation's 50th anniversary.

"It will put a barrier on the way to establishing a unified Europe ... The strengthening of one bloc today means a new confrontation beginning tomorrow. This is not the way to

build a just world order."

Yeltsin voiced worry that the Security Council had been "relegated to the sidelines of events" in Bosnia and described this as an "obvious and clear-cut violation" of UN principles.

"It is inadmissible for a regional organisation to make decisions as to the mass use of force bypassing the Security Council," he said.

Russia was ready to send troops to help police a peace agreement in Bosnia, but this would happen only if the Russian troops were under "a clear-cut Security Council

mandate".

His remarks came after US Secretary of State Warren Christopher said in an interview that the question of Russian participation in a Bosnia peace force was unlikely to be resolved in US-Russian summit talks today.

Plans for the deployment of a multinational peacekeeping force in Bosnia call for the operation to be under the command of Nato.

Russia has balked at putting its troops under Nato's command structure, while the US has conditioned participation in the

'UN must reassess role'

CT 24/10/95 (336)

UNITED NATIONS: President Nelson Mandela said yesterday the UN Security Council did not reflect the diversity of nations and people in the world.

Addressing the General Assembly's 50th anniversary celebrations, Mr Mandela said: "The changed world circumstances permit neither the continued maldistribution of resources, nor the related maldistribution of decision-making power within this organisation itself."

The United Nations, he said, needed to "reassess its role, redefine its profile and reshape its structures".

"It should truly reflect the diversity of our universe and ensure equity among nations in the exercise of power within the system of international relations in general and the Security Council in particular," he said.

Security Council reform has been fur-

thered by most UN members but no one can agree on how the 15-member body can be enlarged and who should get permanent seats, now held by five World War II victors — the United States, Britain, France, China and Russia.

Mr Mandela said that governments had to think "that what we are about is people — the proverbial man and woman in the street. These, the poor, the hungry, the victims of petty tyrants, the objectives of policy, demand change," he said.

Mr Mandela earlier indicated that SA was willing to join UN peacekeeping ventures.

Mr Mandela also won the support of the Nordic countries for South Africa's campaign to wipe out \$100 million (R360m) in UN dues owed for the 20 years when it was suspended from the organisation — from 1974 to 1994. — Reuter

● See Page 2

Let all of us set agenda for the new century - Mandela

SA joins call to democratise UN

24/10/95

■ BY PETER FABRICIUS
STAR BUREAU

New York - President Nelson Mandela joined leaders from other developing nations in calling for the democratisation of the UN Security Council when he addressed the organisation's historic 50th anniversary celebrations yesterday.

Resplendent in one of his characteristic bright, open-necked shirts, Mandela said the UN had to "reassess its role, redefine its profile and reshape its structures".

"It should truly reflect the diversity of our universe and ensure equity among the nations in the exercise of power within the system of international relations, and the Security Council in particular.

"We raise this matter to make the fundamental point that the agenda of the next century and the programme of action to promote it, can only be true to the purposes of this organisation if they are set by all of us.

"We must, without delay, constitute a new leadership for the new age and bring sunshine into the hearts of billions, including women, the disabled and children.

"These, the poor, the hungry, the victims of petty tyrants and the objectives of policy demand change."

"As the United Nations matures into the new millennium, it is called upon to facilitate the birth of a new world order

of peace, democracy and prosperity for all."

Mandela was reiterating a message of reform sounded repeatedly yesterday.

Developing nations stressed the need to expand the Security Council to make it more representative - a goal being considered within the organisation.

Developed nations emphasised the need to reform the UN's inefficient bureaucracy, its verbosity and production of mountains of paperwork, and its problems in effecting its ideals of world peace and democracy.

Mandela, despite his calls for reform, reaffirmed South Africa's commitment to the founding ideals of the UN and

paid tribute to it for its help in "challenging, with us, a system that defined fellow humans as lesser beings".

In the gallery, joining in the applause for his speech, were nine South African pupils - one from each province. The visit was part of their prize for winning a UN-organised debating contest.

The celebrations commemorate the signing of the UN Charter exactly 50 years ago today - on October 24 1945 - and have brought together the largest concentration of kings, presidents and prime ministers in one place at any time in history.

The result of this superfluity of political power has been a kind of devaluation of

the currency of world leadership. Leaders accustomed to being the biggest fish in their ponds - big or small - are now all rather diminished by having to swim together in the biggest political fish pond ever concocted.

When the historic photograph of all of them together was taken on Sunday, they were ordered about, as a local newspaper said, "like school-kids being arranged for a class photo".

Mandela attended the world premiere of the film *Cry the Beloved Country* and the launch of the American branch of the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund yesterday, and is scheduled to return to South Africa today.

UN council must give more weight to smaller nations

NEW YORK—The UN should consider restructuring the council to give more weight to smaller countries, President Nelson Mandela said at a special UN sitting yesterday.

Calling for a more democratic UN, he said the world needed new leadership for a new age. Changed world circumstances permitted neither the maldistribution of resources nor the related maldistribution of decision-making power within the organisation. The UN had to reassess its role, redefine its profile and reshape its struc-

tures. "It should truly reflect the diversity of our universe and ensure equity among the nations in the exercise of power within the system of international relations in general and the security council in particular."

The agenda of the next century and the programme of action to promote it could be true to the purposes of the UN only if they were set by all its members.

"We must... constitute a new leadership for the new age, and bring sunshine into the hearts of billions, including women, the disabled and children."

His call for restructuring in the UN echoed the concern of other African nations. Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko said all organs of the UN, including the security council, had to be adapted, while Botswana President Ketumile Masire said the UN needed a more balanced but efficient council. On Sunday Zambian President Frederick Chiluba told the assembly the increase in the UN's membership called for equitable, broader representation.

Mandela said that as the UN matured into the new millennium, it was

called on to facilitate the birth of a new world order of peace, democracy and prosperity for all. "Thus can we honour the memory of those who perished in pursuit of the founding ideal, and protect future generations from the pestilence of war, hunger, disease, ignorance and environmental degradation. The time to act is now."

After an hour-long meeting with Nordic heads of state, who pledged to intensify their involvement in peace-keeping training in the southern African region, Mandela said SA would

not hesitate to take part in UN peace-keeping operations where it could.

The task of the UN was to promote peace and security and it was the duty of all of its members to help with this.

Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland and Iceland said they would also support SA's bid to have its R360m UN arrears written off. Mandela said SA appreciated that the UN was short of funds. "But we have a unique situation where we inherited this huge debt."

See Pages 8 and 22

Mandela

(336) BD 24/10/95

SA won't pay its UN debt – Pahad

Star 26/10/95 (336)

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER

PRETORIA BUREAU

South Africa had no intention of meeting its multimillion rand United Nations debt, Deputy Foreign Minister Aziz Pahad told a UN 50th anniversary function in Pretoria yesterday.

The debt was accumulated from unpaid membership fees and other costs accrued during the 1974-1994 period when the country's credentials were not accepted by the UN's General Assembly because of its apartheid policies.

Pahad said at the opening of a photographic exhibition about the work of the UN and the apartheid era: "We are not going to pay. We cannot be held responsible for what happened on the part of the previous government."

He was replying to UN southern Africa representative David Whaley, who told guests that the organisation was facing its "most serious financial crisis of our 50 years of existence".

Whaley had disclosed that the UN mission, which moved into a new SA government-donated building in central Pretoria yes-

terday, had been curtailed in its efforts to provide a glittering opening ceremony because of lack of cash, and had had to accept donations from local organisations and companies.

Pahad said in a short speech before touring the exhibition that for most of its 50 years of existence, the UN had had to deal with "the South African travesty", a reference to the apartheid era of government, and that in the future the UN would have to play a role expected of it by the organisation's founding fathers at San Francisco in 1945, "particularly following the end of the Cold War".

The exhibition contains graphic photographs of events during the Angolan war, the South West Africa (Namibia) campaign, and results of destabilisation raids on countries such as Mozambique and Lesotho carried out by South African troops.

Yesterday's event was one of two arranged in Pretoria. The other was a gala evening held at the Zwartkop air force base, near Pretoria, at which government ministers, diplomats and other dignitaries were present.

Secretary-General endorses scathing report on world body

UN critics get top backing

The critics are right: the United Nations is a mess and there is a report endorsed by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to prove it.

Not surprisingly, release of the lengthy indictment prepared by Karl Theodore Paschke who functions as an inspector-general was delayed until after the 50th anniversary commemoration.

This was perhaps because it confirms some of the unkindest cuts that interlarded tributes to the UN by more than 150 world leaders.

If the former German foreign ministry personnel chief had issued the findings - after only a short time in office - at

RAH! RAH! The United Nations has just had its 50th anniversary, but the chief auditor's analysis leaves the impression that the blue helmets represent a body in a mess, reports Mike Littlejohn from New York.

the same time as presidents Bill Clinton, Jacques Chirac and Nelson Mandela were among those calling for sweeping UN reforms, it might have blighted the party.

Paschke is the under secretary-general for Internal Oversight Services.

He speaks of a bureaucracy that has "grown without pruning for many years", of procedures that are "too rigid, frustrating creativity and individual initiative" and of "overlap-

ping and duplication of responsibilities".

These are complaints that have long been aired by the major contributors to UN expenses f.

Paschke's litany goes on:

He cites "Too complicated" rules and regulations, a "cumbersome" personnel system that obstructs the hiring of good people and makes it hard to find slackers, unimpressive management and "a lack of horizontal communication

(meaning evidently that the right hand knoweth not what the left hand doeth in a secretariat of 160 nationalities with "quite different perceptions of public service".)

On specifics, Paschke says more than 50% of all audits found "weaknesses in the internal control system".

Similarly, audits of corporate contracts revealed procedures that did not lead to fair, competitive prices through proper bidding.

In addition, there was "almost 50%" non-compliance with rules, regulations and instructions.

The peacekeeping operation in Yugoslavia costs R18-million a day and is a cause of the current financial crisis, since few governments are paying for it, but Paschke says an audit of the civilian sector found "unnecessary, excessive and extravagant expenditures".

In Somalia, the UN bought water for 90c a litre, two and a half times the going rate, at an extra cost of R3,6-million.

Food worth R5,4-million was transferred to a contractor and only recovered following an audit. - The Star Foreign Service.

Star 27/10/95 (336)

SA leads race for Africa's UN Security Council seat

ST 29/10/95

(336)

By RAY HARTLEY
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA this week edged closer to a prized permanent seat on a refashioned UN Security Council.

A two-pronged strategy — to win support for the idea that each continent be allocated a permanent seat on the council, and then to win international support for South Africa as the African representative — appeared to have found favour with influential international lobbies during President Nelson Mandela's visit to the UN this week.

Government officials said Mr Mandela's appeal for the restructuring of the council into a more widely representative body had found favour with the US, Russia, Nordic countries and most African states.

The Security Council is the UN organ which bears chief responsibility for maintaining international peace. There are five permanent members — the US, Russia, China, France and Britain. They have veto rights on the council which give them extraordinary clout in world affairs.

There has been a concerted campaign to expand the council to give Japan and Germany permanent seats. This in turn has prompted demands by Latin American and

African countries that their continents be given representation.

Addressing the commemorative meeting of the UN General Assembly in New York on Monday, Mr Mandela said: "Changed world circumstances permit neither the continued maldistribution of resources, nor the related maldistribution of decision-making power within this organisation."

He went on to call for a reshaping of UN structures "to truly reflect the diversity of our universe and ensure equity among nations."

Mr Mandela then met US President Bill Clinton and Russian President Boris Yeltsin. South African officials have given their backing in private to the restructuring process but will not go public with their support until the debate reaches a more advanced stage. A final decision on restructuring the council will be taken in more than a year's time.

The heads of the Nordic states also invited Mr Mandela to a bilateral meeting where they are understood to have backed his stance.

South Africa's second battle — to win favour as the country most appropriate to represent Africa — is also said to have won support. Its competitors, Nigeria and Egypt, are said to have lost favour due to domes-

tic problems related respectively to repression of opposition and the rise of a Muslim fundamentalist agenda. Egypt is also said to have lost ground because an Egyptian, Boutros-Boutros Ghali, is UN secretary-general.

South African government officials are bracing for a souring of relations with Nigeria, expected to be angry at losing status as the African country most likely to make it onto the Security Council.

Tensions could come to a head at next month's meeting of Commonwealth heads of government in New Zealand, where Nigeria's human rights violations and military regime are expected to endure heavy criticism, some from South Africa.

South Africa is also believed to have won the backing of the Nordic countries, the US and Russia, for the scrapping of its multimillion-dollar UN debt incurred by the previous government's non-payment of dues.

Mr Mandela also told the UN: "We must, without delay, constitute a new leadership for a new age, and bring sunshine into the hearts of billions... Circumstances may tempt us to bend to the pressures of realpolitik. However, like the founders, we are faced with the task of ensuring the convergence of word and deed."

Joining UN fund 'would benefit SA'

(336)
Louise Cook

BD 14/11/95

SA WOULD join the 158-member International Fund for Agricultural Development (Ifad), a UN agency for alleviating rural poverty, as soon as Parliament ratified the application, agriculture department chief director Attie Swart said yesterday.

The Cabinet had approved the move and ratification was likely to follow next year, he said.

Ifad had planned a special workshop on poverty to be held in SA in February next year, with Southern African Development Community countries, Ifad members and the World Bank expected to attend. The workshop would be an opportunity for different countries to share experiences in the battle against rural poverty.

"Joining Ifad would be a major boost for SA. We would then be in a position to contract for agricultural, fishery and forestry projects on the African continent. It means business for SA," Swart said.

Foreign affairs deputy director Rob Mackay said SA would benefit "in a big way" by joining the fund.

"It means we can bid for contracts. The UN has moved away from the idea that projects have to be done from the US or Europe. They now want the services to be provided locally."

SA would also qualify for soft loans from Ifad, but this was not the main reason for seeking membership, he said.

Meanwhile, SA was elected to the council and the finance committee of the Food and Agriculture Organisation at its biannual meeting in Rome last week. SA rejoined the organisation last year after an absence of more than 30 years.

The council would run a budget of \$650m over the next two years to promote agricultural development in poor countries, Mackay said.

Mandela thanks Unesco for its contribution

BD 17/11/95

(336)

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — President Nelson Mandela yesterday thanked Unesco for its contribution to bringing apartheid to an end.

In a speech read to the 50th anniversary celebrations of Unesco in Paris by Arts, Science, Culture and Technology Minister Ben Ngubane,

Mandela said: "SA salutes Unesco for enabling us to take our place in its structures with integrity and dignity..."

"It was only last year, when SA achieved democracy, that we regained full membership of Unesco after an absence of 38 years. We sincerely appreciate the opportunity to play a full role within this important body in the family of nations."

(208) (336)
**New SA spells out steps
for human rights to UN**

PETER FABRICIUS
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — As President Nelson Mandela mounts an international sanctions campaign against Nigeria for its execution of dissidents, South Africa has reminded the United Nations that the promotion of human rights is the cornerstone of its foreign policy.

Diplomat Peter Soal said this to the UN human rights committee in New York yesterday, in a speech reviewing the new South African government's many steps to institutionalise respect for human rights.

These included the establish-

ment of the Human Rights Commission and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Constitutional Court's landmark ruling declaring the death penalty illegal because it violated the provision of the constitution, which enshrined the right to life.

South Africa had also ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child and parliament had given approval last month for South Africa to ratify the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women.

The final steps before depositing the instrument of ratification for this convention were now under way.

ARL 30/11/95

Star 15/12/95
**SA's R367-million debt
in UN arrears cancelled**

2 (336)
By PETER FABRICIUS
Star Bureau

Washington - The United Nations will today take the unprecedented step of forgiving South Africa the \$102-million (about R367-million) it owes the organisation in membership dues for the apartheid era.

Diplomatic sources said the cash-strapped UN had never before wiped out the membership arrears of a country.

They attributed the achievement to President Mandela's special influence and hard lobbying by South African diplomats.

"That's quite a few houses back home" one gleeful official said.

The new SA Govern-

ment has paid the dues SA owes for the period since it resumed its seat in the General Assembly last year.

But it was adamant that it would not pay the dues incurred by the National Party apartheid government, which in any case had been barred from UN activities since the mid-70s.

Mandela began the effort to cancel the debt when he visited UN headquarters in New York two months ago to attend the organisation's 50th anniversary.

He quietly lobbied four of the five heads of state of the Permanent Members of the Security Council.

UN agrees to write off SA's R367 million debt

ARG 15/12/95 # (336)

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The United Nations will take the unprecedented step today of writing off the \$102 million (R367 million) South Africa owes it in membership dues for the apartheid era.

Diplomatic sources said the cash-strapped UN had never before wiped out the membership arrears of a country.

They attributed the move to President Mandela's special influence.

The new South African government has paid the dues it owes for the period since it resumed its seat last year. But it was adamant that it would not pay the dues incurred by the apartheid government — which in any case had been barred from the UN since the mid-1970s.

Mr Mandela began the effort to cancel the debt when he visited UN headquarters in New York two months ago to attend the organisation's 50th anniversary.

He quietly lobbied four of the five heads of state of the Permanent Members of the Security Council — US President Bill Clinton, British Prime Minister John Major, French President Jacques Chirac and Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Mr Mandela did not meet the Chinese leader, as far as could be established. At that time Mr Clinton gave his support but Mr Chirac was opposed, while Mr Major seemed undecided.

It is understood that 132 of the 184 UN members have agreed to co-sponsor the resolution forgiving SA's arrears which will be introduced by Algeria and debated by the General Assembly today.

This all but guarantees it will pass and it may even be approved by consensus.

The only country which strongly objects is Mexico which may offer the only nay vote, or it may just go along with the rest to make the decision unanimous.

Justice...
zens of Serb Sarajevo. I believe...

UN writes off nearly R365m in SA debts (336)

ST 17/12/95

THE Minister of Foreign Affairs, Alfred Nzo, yesterday welcomed the United Nations decision to waive South Africa's debts to the body.

The UN general assembly decided on Friday to cancel nearly \$100-million (R365-million) in unpaid dues accumulated by South Africa over 20 years.

For its part, South Africa announced it would make a voluntary contribution to UN peacekeeping operations in Africa. The amount was not specified.

Mr Nzo said in a statement that South Africa appreciated the efforts of all member states in reaching the decision. "I want to thank the UN and the international community for their committed efforts during all the years it took to dismantle the apartheid order," he said.

He said the payment of the country's debt would have been "an increased burden" on the reconstruction and development programme.

Mr Nzo also thanked President Nelson Mandela, South Africa's UN ambassador, Josiah Jele, and the country's missions abroad for their interventions, which influenced the waiving of the debt.

He was due to leave for London last night for the Commonwealth Group of Eight meeting.

The resolution, sponsored by South Africa and nearly 140 other UN members, said the waiving of the debt was due to the "exceptional and unique circumstances" of South Africa's reintegration into the general assembly last year.

It said the assembly had taken the "moral and political decision" to exclude South Africa and that Pretoria had requested exemption for that period.

The back dues comprised \$53.3-million (R197-million) for the regular UN budget and \$40.2-million (R149-million) for peacekeeping operations.

The document said the cancellation of the dues "shall under no circumstances constitute a precedent", reflecting the world body's dire financial straits. At the end of November the UN was owed some \$2-billion (R7.4-billion) in unpaid peacekeeping assessments and \$640-million (R2.4-billion) for regular budget dues.

Poland expressed reservations about the resolution. —
Sapa-Reuter-AFP

UNITED NATIONS

1996-98

UN faces shutdown threat

MIKE LITTLEJOHN
The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — Taking a leaf out of the United States book, the United Nations could face a shutdown of "non-essential" operations because of its severe financial problems.

According to official sources here, unless member states come up with a sizable chunk of cash in the meantime, three-fifths of the UN staff may be suspended in April.

At a news conference, Joseph Connor, UN under secretary-general for administration and management, spoke of a "precarious" situation with the UN "close to the edge" of insolvency.

Arrears of \$2.3 billion (about R8 billion) on member states' assessments continued to rise, with the US still the biggest debtor.

By contrast, financially hard-pressed Russia has paid all of its regular dues and promised to reduce peacekeeping account arrears in substantial instalments.

Innovative proposals by member states to resolve the UN crisis, which

Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali announced in a speech at Oxford University recently, have been angrily decried by Senator Robert Dole and other Republican leaders as a bid by the organisation to become an international tax assessor.

UN spokesman Sylvana Foa said the critics were using the UN as a scapegoat for their political ambitions and Mr Connor, a former boss of Price Waterhouse, emphasised that all Dr Boutros-Ghali did was quote from ideas that others, including Sweden, advanced.

Dr Boutros-Ghali's hopes for re-election ride on US support.

Many believe the first African in the job will have an uphill battle.

Asked about the possibility of a partial UN shutdown, Mr Connor said he would present a financial report on February 5 and Dr Boutros-Ghali would make a statement two days later.

So far, only a dozen countries have paid their dues for 1996, due by January 31. South Africa is on the "honour roll", having paid all of its dues of more than \$3.5 million.

FOAM

SA to play UN peace role after debt write-off

Star 2/2/96 (331)

By NORMAN CHANDLER
Defence Correspondent

South Africa has agreed to participate in United Nations peace-keeping activities, in return for the cancellation of the country's multi-million-rand debt to the world organisation.

This was divulged yesterday by Defence Minister Joe Modise at a South African Air Force Day parade at Zwartkop Air Force Base near Pretoria.

Assuring the air force that its future was guaranteed despite defence budget cuts, Modise said the demands on the country's military would be considerable in the future. Air power played an important part in military capability, he said.

"Peace and security in our region is obviously a very high priority," Modise said. "It is my hope that (regional) co-operation will develop into a joint defence concept and capability, in which we equitably share the security burden of our region."

"South Africa is also committed to participation in United Nations peace operations, and we have a direct responsibility in this regard following their cancellation of our debt."

The UN General Assembly last year agreed to write off South Africa's R360-million debt, accumulated over the years when the country was suspended from

membership because of its apartheid policies.

No timetable has been set for when the South African forces would begin assisting the world body. The governments of the countries concerned will first have to be consulted, but it is believed South Africa will help with UN peace-enforcing operations on the African continent in the foreseeable future.

South Africa has already assisted with humanitarian aid to Angola, Rwanda and Mozambique.

Yesterday's parade - also attended by Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils, Chief of the SANDF Gen Georg Meiring, outgoing Chief of the SAAF Lt-Gen James Kriel, and Secretary for Defence Pierre Steyn - is the first of a series of events to commemorate this year's 75th anniversary of the founding of the Zwartkop base.

It was established in April 1921 and was the first "air station" of the fledgling SAAF, which last year turned 75.

Nine units were yesterday presented by Modise with their unit colours. They are Zwartkop AFB, 4 Air Depot, 104 Voluntary Air Squadron, 111 Voluntary Air Squadron, Ellisras Reporting Post, 503 Security Squadron, Combined Auction Centre, Mobile Communications Unit, and Air Space Control Unit.

Pulling UN from the edge

M+G 9-15/2/96 (336)

**John Goshko
at the United Nations**

UNITED NATIONS Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali this week proposed several steps to pull the UN back from what he called "the edge of insolvency", including giving the United States Congress a greater incentive to pay America's back dues by cutting the US share of the UN budget from its present 25% to 15% or 20%.

But Boutros-Ghali stopped short, at least for now, of accepting a recommendation from the UN's top management experts to make the most drastic personnel cuts in the world body's 50-year history by trimming 1 150 positions from the ranks of its 10 000 permanent employees.

Instead, while acknowledging that staff reductions will be required, he deferred mentioning specific numbers until the heads of the UN's various departments recommend ways to save money. "The full impact of the reductions will become clear only after the completion of this review," Boutros-Ghali said.

By choosing this approach, the

secretary general seemed to express the view — shared by most member countries — that the UN's most pressing need is to convince the US to pay the sizable back dues it owes.

Otherwise, he appeared to be saying, the organisation will be mired so deeply in debt that there won't be any point in pursuing the long-term reforms and economies that the US Congress and the Clinton administration demand as the price for continued US financial patronage.

Four months after 128 heads of state and government gathered to laud the UN on its 50th anniversary, Boutros-Ghali gave a grim message to a General Assembly working group trying to combat the worsening financial crisis. On January 15, member countries were \$3.3-billion in arrears — \$1.6-billion to the regular budget and \$1.7-billion for peacekeeping activities.

About \$1.5-billion of that amount is owed by the US, which is assessed 25% of the regular UN budget and 31% of the peacekeeping costs. However, for years, the US Congress has refused to fund these obligations in full. Last year, it unilaterally reduced the US

peacekeeping contribution to 25%, and hostility toward the UN has climbed to an all-time high under the present Republican control of Capitol Hill.

To help counter the complaints from Capitol Hill, the Clinton administration convinced the General Assembly to adopt a no-growth budget of \$2.6-billion for 1996/97. To reduce spending by \$118-million, the management experts proposed sweeping personnel cuts.

But, in his presentation, Boutros-Ghali chose to turn that recommendation aside for the time being and emphasise what he called "the immediate crisis caused by the failure to pay assessments when due".

He pledged to appeal for quick payment to the heads of each delinquent government, and he called for a special session of the General Assembly to address the financial crisis.

While he did not mention the US by name, his suggestion that no country be assessed more than 15% or 20% clearly was aimed at those in the Congress who believe the US pays too much. — *The Washington Post*

Costs of conference trimmed to R18-m with some hi-tech help

BY TROYE LUND

It will cost the Government around R18-million to host the ninth United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (Unctad), newly appointed Minister of Trade and Development Alec Erwin has announced.

Erwin said this bill would be covered by the Department of Foreign Affairs and he considered it a reasonable price to pay for the benefits developing countries stood to gain from the two-week conference at Midrand's Gallagher Estate, from April 27 until May 11.

Erwin, who will be president of Unctad for the next four years, said 3 000 delegates from 188 nations will be debating how a rapidly growing, globalising world market can co-exist with the 2 billion people in the world's developing countries and ensure sustained development for them. The delegates are due to start arriving in South Africa this week.

"What does a country like South Africa do in a dramatically changing new world economy where isolating yourself is probably extremely unwise but, if you open the doors tomorrow, a large part of your manufacturing sector may not be there?" asked Erwin.

SA's executive director of Unctad André Jaquet said: "We do not know exactly how much this will

cost the Government. We estimate around R18-million, depending of course on what the rand does (on foreign currency markets)."

He expects the most hefty bills to be the 200 air tickets for the Unctad Geneva secretariat, who will also receive a \$120 a day allowance from the Government for accom-

staff out and all documents will be e-mailed to Geneva for translation by UN staff there."

Another bill for which South Africa's taxpayers will be forking out is the R5,5-million charge for the use of Gallagher Estate facilities.

The Government is also employing a 1 400-strong South African support staff, who will be working in shifts during the conference. Government will provide a computer station for each delegate, telephones, other communication equipment, transport and security.

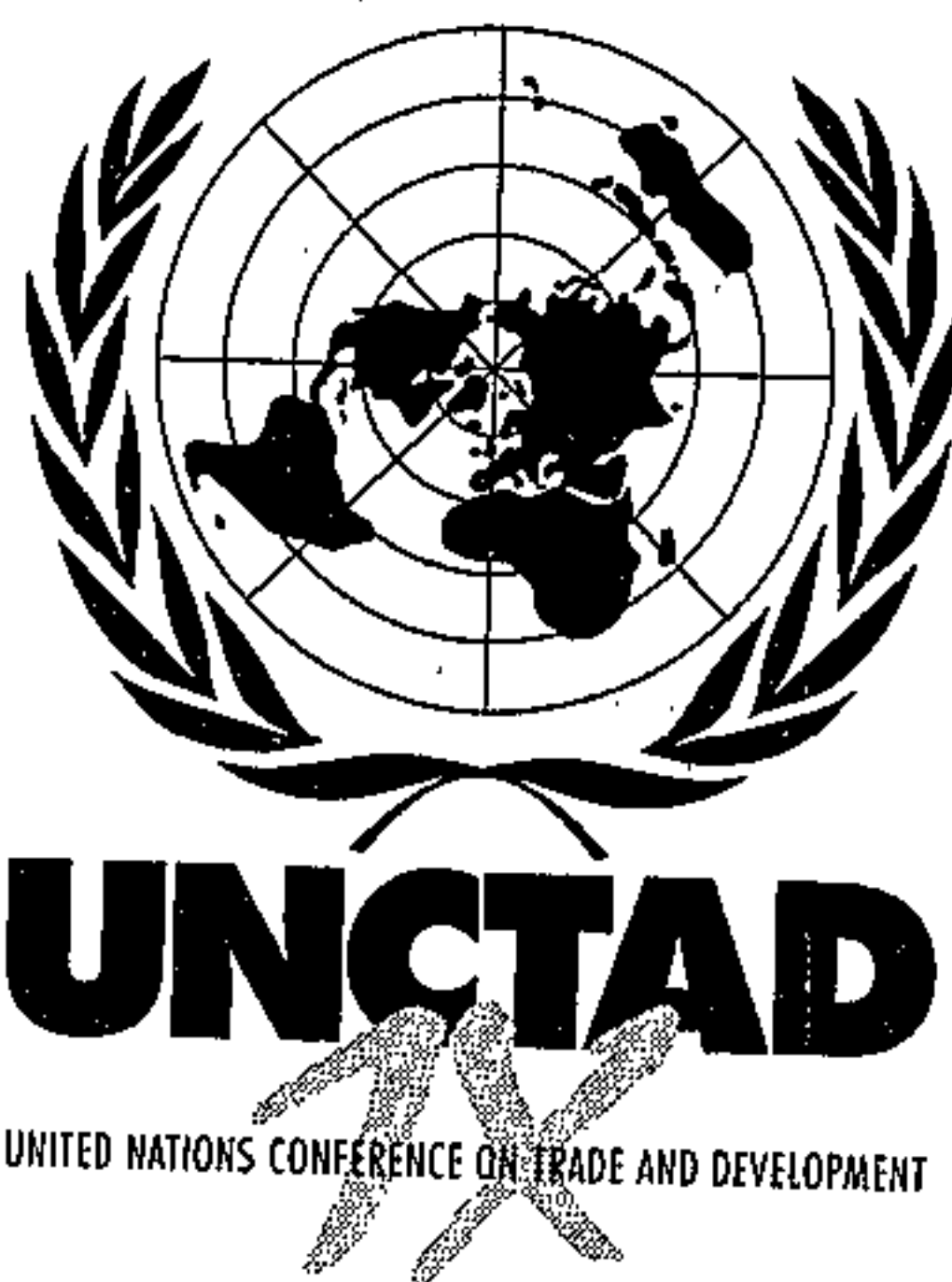
The radio, television and media facilities the UN initially asked for came to R1,7-million but has been trimmed to R950 000.

Other savings have been made by limiting photocopies of documents to 5 million.

"The Government will not pay for any telephoning done by delegates phoning, and pin-codes and phone cards will ensure that delegates pay for their calls.

"Government will also not pay for any entertaining, as this has either already been sponsored or will be paid for by each delegate," said Jaquet.

"In the two weeks of the conference delegates will be spending around R30-million. It is the private sector that will benefit, especially the tourism, hotel, restaurant and craft industries."



modation and other expenses.

Jaquet stressed that he and his team had cut costs where possible. For example, he limited the number from the secretariat to 200 when 400 usually attend major UN conferences.

"We certainly have not said yes to all UN wishes. We also cut the conference length by half. We have avoided bringing translation

From squatter to chef of five-star cuisine

BY TROYE LUND

When squatter Moses Hlaole (31) was first asked what a line fish was he replied that it must be a fish with a very long bone.

But now, after he and 159 others graduated from an intensive 12-week food preparation and cooking course, they will be able to prepare and serve five-star cuisine for 3 000 UN delegates soon to arrive in SA for their 9th Conference on Trade and Development (Unctad 9).

When SA won the bid to host the conference, management at Johannesburg's Gallagher Estate where Unctad 9 will be held realised they would need more staff.

"We decided to turn the first UN conference ever to be held in

SA into an opportunity for the local community to share in," said Gallagher general manager, Brian Davidson.

With the financial support of the Department of Labour, Davidson advertised positions on a 12-week training course to the local communities of Gauteng.

Of the 1 200 applications received, 900 were asked to come in for an interview. The list was narrowed down to 437 candidates. These went through another screening and 160 were selected for the course.

Students were slotted into one of the three functional areas the hospitality skills programme covered - accommodation services, food and drink service, and food preparation and cooking.

The Hospitality, Development

and Education (HDE) organisation gave them a six-week basic theory and practical course, which included life skills. This was followed by a six-week in-service training at Gallagher Estate.

"The culture shock was huge for all of us. This was a whole different world for these people who are mostly squatters," said one of the six HDE trainers, Eugene van Rensburg.

He said students would be placed at Gallagher Estate after the conference and would undergo further training.

At the graduation ceremony last Friday, Hlaole said: "In five years' time I will have opened a fast food restaurant. This opportunity has ensured that I will give my family a good life."



President Nelson Mandela and King Hussein of Jordan in Pretoria last Friday. King Hussein is in South Africa to attend the Unctad meeting. PIC: PAT SEBOKO

Erwin takes on the Unctad presidency

Samuel 29/4/96

297 336

By Ross Herbert

SOUTH AFRICA IS, depending on one's confidence in the Government's diplomatic skills, either about to embark on a four-year collision course with the developed world or take a leadership role in sensitising world institutions to the plight of the developing world.

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (Unctad) started on Saturday in Midrand near Johannesburg.

South Africa has been active in setting the agenda for the 14-day event, and Alec Erwin, Minister of Trade and Industry, will begin his term as president of the organisation for the next four years.

As an organisation, Unctad is struggling to find a mission. It is under severe budget pressure from donor nations critical of the ineffectiveness and bureaucracy of the United Nations (UN) system.

The question central to the Unctad conference is: What should be done with the organisation, if anything?

Its trade functions have largely been eclipsed by the formation of the World Trade Organisation (WTO). The World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and others now call the tune in development.

Free trade policy

There is a significant belief among senior Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) staff that the free-trade philosophy that imbues WTO, the World Bank and IMF has often worked to the detriment of the developing world.

Some speak conspiratorially about the First World duping the Third World into a WTO that is by definition unfair to the developing world.

The DTI team preparing strategy for Unctad wants the organisation to become adviser and advocate for the least developed countries, many of which do not have the resources, expertise or savvy to go into WTO negotiations and strike an advantageous deal.

And herein lies the potential conflict.

The developed countries, and the United States in particular, want Unctad to be scaled down and to stay out of WTO affairs. Moreover, their diplomats sav Unctad has long been stuck in

South Africa's presidency of Unctad could bring her new First World foes

a "South-versus-North, developing-versus-developed-world" mindset.

They want the confrontation to end and are not eager to fund an Unctad that is a soapbox for criticism of the developed world. The US also wants Unctad to be confined to providing research and technical trade support.

South Africa plans to advocate a much broader, more controversial agenda. DTI wants greater debt relief for developing countries.

There is also discussion, but no clear decision, over whether formally to ask to extend the phase-in period over which the developing world must remove its trade barriers.

South Africa, with its large reserve of international goodwill, is uniquely positioned to influence the developed world. And advocacy does not necessarily have to turn into antagonism.

Influential position

If managed well, the presidency of Unctad could secure an influential position for South Africa as honest broker in world disputes. Realistically, the situation is more complicated.

Erwin may be president of Unctad but he will not necessarily control its bureaucracy. He will get the blame from a First World irritated by Unctad criticism. There is sympathy in developed countries for debt relief, but other issues will find determined First World opposition.

The US and Europe will press for linking labour standards into the WTO process so that nations engaging in child labour or slave labour could be brought before the WTO and possibly forced to pay penalties.

Developing world diplomats see this as meddling and disguised protectionism. Similarly, DTI plans to lobby to keep environmental restrictions out of the WTO.

The developed world, heavily swayed by pro-environment activists, will take a hard line on countries raping forests and fisheries. If South Africa really champions delinkage of labour and environmental standards, it will find a hostile audience in many developed countries.

Unctad's fate will be determined largely by the size of its budget. If the

wealthy nations have already decided to effectively gut Unctad, has South Africa taken on a losing cause that will drain precious staff time in DTI for the next four years and deliver few tangible benefits to South Africa?

And how hard should South Africa push and what does South Africa gain in fighting battles for its developing world friends? Most of the issues DTI plans to champion have little direct benefit for South Africa.

For itself, South Africa is now lobbying for more, not less, free trade with Europe. South Africa does not need debt relief and faces no major environmental linkage issues.

Labour standards

On labour standards, DTI's position is actually contrary to that of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu). Cosatu wants to force developing world economies to comply with international labour standards so that South African labour is not priced out of the market.

Taking on a Third World advocacy role in Unctad cannot be viewed in isolation. Alfred Nzo, Minister of Foreign Affairs, recently expressed South African solidarity with Libya.

Gauteng premier Tokyo Sexwale has just returned from a trade mission with Cuba. And the controversial American Louis Farrakhan met President Nelson Mandela.

So far, South African trade has benefited immensely from appearing to be the only responsible nation in Africa. What risk does the country run if world perception shifts and the world sees South Africa as the friend of rogues?

One London currency trader, who was briefed last week by Trevor Manuel, Minister of Finance, expressed surprise that South Africa had aligned itself with Libya at a time when the rand was plunging in value.

As he put it: "If the markets were more aware of that, they would be alarmed."

Libya is seen in the market view as a leper. I think it would be highly counterproductive if South Africa is seen repeating its support of Libya." — *Independent Foreign Service.*

UN conference focuses on rich-poor divide

Choice of SA to host gathering symbolises country's return to international world, says UN official

Mar 29/4/76

By SAPA AND TROYE LUND

A meeting of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development opened at Midrand near Pretoria on Saturday with warnings that the gap between rich and poor might be widening.

Most of the world's people were no more secure at the end of the 20th century than they had been during the Cold War, President Nelson Mandela told the meeting.

"Poverty and need continue to blight their lives," he said.

The UN meeting, one of the largest to be held in Africa and the first to be held in South Africa, opened with a mass choir of 400 children singing the national anthems, traditional dancers and the pounding of an African drum.

The choice of South Africa to host the United Nations summit



on trade and development (Unctad) was more than symbolic of the country's return into the international world of states, said Unctad secretary-general Rubens Rucupero.

At a press conference before the opening ceremony, Rucupero said SA faced the same problem as the world economy: it had a vast and widening gap between rich and poor which had to be narrowed.

This is the main theme some

3 000 UN delegates from 188 states will debate over the next two weeks of the Unctad conference at Gallagher Estate in Midrand.

Rucupero stressed SA was now not only an important world leader but a living demonstration that development in Africa was not impossible.

He also emphasised that the conference aimed to set up concrete mechanisms that would deliver better services to developing countries and "make a difference in people's lives".

Minister of Trade and Industry Alec Erwin, who will be president of Unctad for the next four years, yesterday said he intended to make Unctad an "aggressive and dynamic organisation" that implemented concrete support systems for developing countries to grow by improving on issues like financial and trade efficiency.

One in 3 000 delegates objects to accommodation

Of the 3 000 UN delegates attending the conference on trade and development at Gallagher Estate in Midrand only one has complained that the accommodation was not acceptable.

The Russian delegate was not satisfied with his hotel because he said there were no restaurants nearby and he could not find anywhere to go for his first meal on Friday evening after he arrived.

Delegates are staying in 29 Johannesburg, Midrand and Pretoria hotels which a UN team that visited the country last year inspected and approved as being of a sufficiently high international standard.

Rod Rutter, the American Express representative who is based at the conference and who had dealt with the hotel bookings, said: "There are plenty of restaurants the man could have gone to. He just did not know the area."

After getting better acquainted with the area around his hotel, the Russian delegate is reported to be "not as disgruntled" and said he would stay in his hotel. - Staff Reporter.

UN rules bar Taiwanese journalists from conference

By TROYE LUND

Taiwanese journalists, no matter which country their publication is affiliated to, have been barred from the UN Conference on Trade and Development (Unctad) because their country is not a member of the organisation.

South African delegates, including government ministers, attending the conference in Midrand near Johannesburg agreed that the barring was unfair but said SA as host country "still had to play by UN rules".

Taiwanese citizen Chang Jer-Shong confronted Unctad's Secretary-General Rubens Rucupero on the issue at one of the first press conferences of the summit this weekend.

"This is unbelievable. It seems to say that non-member nations have no right of access to information, no right to read the newspaper or watch television. The UN charter does not allow for gagging of the press and does not intend to discriminate journalists in carrying out their work," said Jer-Shong.

Jer-Shong, who has been a journalist for 30 years, works for the Chinese Central News Agency which is based in Taiwan and distributes news to China. Rucupero asked the chief of media accreditation, Sonya Lecca, to reply to Jer-Shong.

In a written reply, Lecca said Jer-Shong could not be allowed to cover the event because of a decision taken by the UN's General Assembly in 1971 which declares "there is an indissoluble link between an accredited correspondent and the agency he/she represents".

That same UN meeting ruled that all accreditation from journalists representing "government-supported media in Taiwan" be withdrawn. Jer-Shong is not satisfied and intends to fight his exclusion: "I have covered a great number of UN events before and have never been denied the opportunity. I should be judged as a journalist not as a representative of Taiwan."

Although Jer-Shong is the only Taiwanese journalist at Midrand, more of his colleagues were expected to arrive later this week.

Unctad set for rebirth with SA at the helm

Star 4/5/96

336

336

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development is set for rebirth under South Africa's leadership, with consensus starting to replace the body's old confrontational style, a delegate said yesterday.

"There were fears in the run-up to the meeting that it would deteriorate into the old Unctad of confrontation, and that the United States and the European Union were out to emasculate the organisation," said Xavier Carim, a member of the South African delegation to the ninth Unctad conference. "But it's on track."

The US feels that South Africa has the muscle to urge developing countries to confront their own shortcomings and abandon their previous "victim mentality", he said.

"The South African presidency is just what Unctad needed right now, because it has credibility on both sides of what has



BLUNT STYLE: Minister of Trade and Industry Alec Erwin

been a development divide," said a delegate from an EU country.

There has been much support among delegates for proposed Unctad help for less developed countries to prepare for World Trade Organisation talks.

Until now, developed countries have wanted trade talks restricted to the WTO forum, but they now say most developing countries need preparation for the negotiations.

"What the developed coun-

tries seem to want is for Unctad to give these countries technical help to fulfil their current trade obligations," Carim said.

He added that said Unctad's role was evident in WTO talks on a telecommunications agreement in Geneva. "Developing countries have not signed it because they don't know what the issues are. The talks are stalled. Unctad can help push the WTO agenda forward."

Carim said it was fair to say that Unctad had "turned the corner" at the conference, but industrialised countries were suspending judgment until they saw what happened over the next four years.

He said SA Minister of Trade and Industry Alec Erwin was making Unctad a priority. Erwin's blunt style went down well at the conference, winning over the more sceptical developed countries and giving confidence to developing countries. - Reuters



Waiting for the drumbeat of Africa ... delegates at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (Unctad) prepare to enjoy traditional music provided for the entertainment of delegates by Midrand Town Council during the lunch break.

Tackle labour issue or face crisis, SA warned

By TROYE LUND

The Secretary of Commerce of India has issued a strong warning to South Africa that, unless it resolves labour unrest, improves people's productivity and work culture as well as gives employers the right to lock workers out, it will not develop or become economically stable.

During a recent interview with The Star at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (Unctad) in Midrand, Tejendra Khanna cautioned that the country would be in "serious trouble" unless it stabilised relations between labour and management within five years.

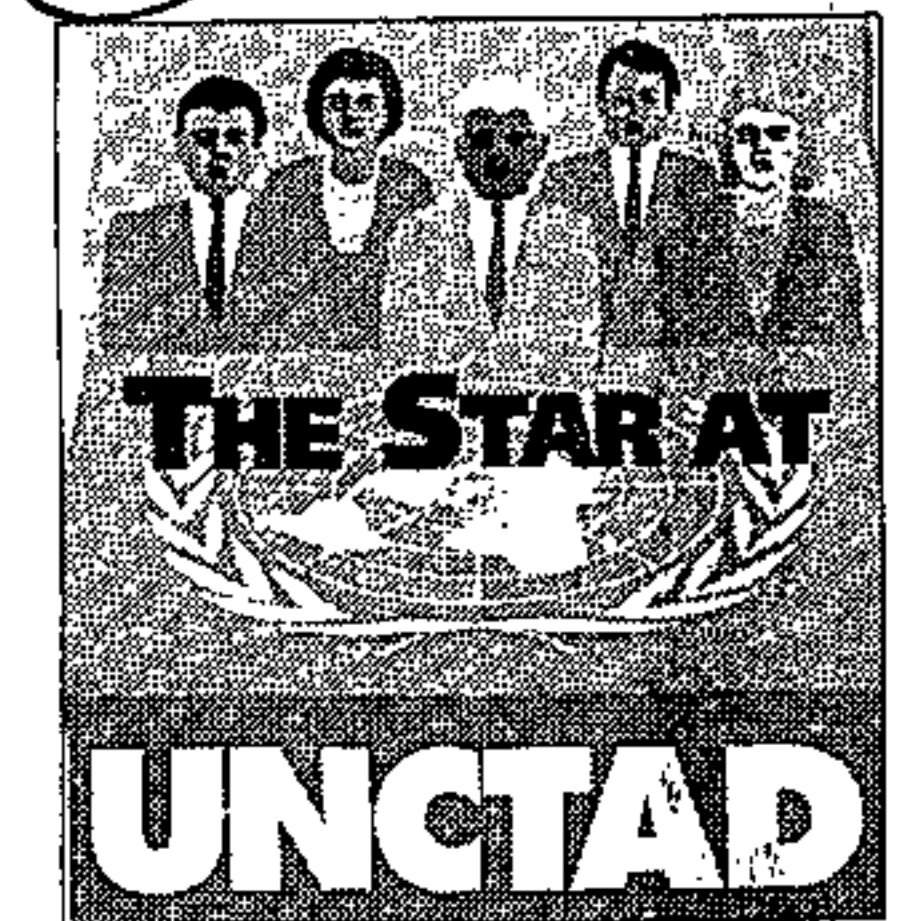
Khanna said workers' rights were essential but he was adamant that employers have to be protected from "unreasonable labour action".

Employers must be given the right to lock employees out as this was an "integral part of balanced, symmetrical" labour policy, he said at Gallagher Estate where the conference is being held.

Incentive to keep productivity high was another "crucial step" South Africa has to take, he said.

"Factories in India have started paying people more if they get higher productivity and keep running costs lower. This works wonders when people realise that some months they can nearly double their basic pay," he said.

The secretary added that South Africa would be left behind other developing countries if it



did not bring down its domestic costs.

"These dangers facing the country have to be overcome if it is to reach its tremendous potential to become a world competitor and to accelerate growth in the rest of Africa," said Khanna.

He highlighted unemployment as another threat to success. Boosting small-scale development, he said, was the only way to overcome unemployment.

For the past 40 years India has been creating policies to the advantage of small-scale industry. These include a "significantly lower" rate at which small businesses can borrow money. There are also more than 800 types of industries which India's government has reserved exclusively for small business. Over 35% of that country's manufactured goods are produced by small-scale industries and they make up 40% of the country's exports.

"SA must realise the importance of cultivating peace and stability at home," said Khanna.

SA aims to make good cents out of being Unctad 'chair' for four years

By TROYE LUND

The 3 000-strong United Nations delegation attending the conference in Midrand on trade and development will not be spending all their time in meetings.

More than 20 day and night trips have been laid on for them, most costing less than \$70 (about R301).

"South Africa, acting as host to this summit and having accepted presidency of Unctad over the next four years, has to use this to

project itself. We are going to make every rand we have spent work for us," said a spokesman for the Minister of Trade and Industry, Alec Erwin, at Gallagher Estate in Midrand where the conference will be held over the next two weeks.

Playing host to the summit will cost the Government about R18-million.

Tour operators say the most popular tour so far is the one to Soweto. For R200 delegates are driven to the township through

the financial district of Johannesburg, Baragwanath hospital and Vista University.

In Soweto a highlight is to have tea with the mayor and his councillors and a walk around the business and shopping districts. Another popular tour is to Alexandra, which gives delegates the opportunity to find out about hostel life, township clinics and educational centres.

They also have the opportunity to cook a South African meal and enjoy it with the country's

finest wines for around R200. Another highlight is a visit to the SA Breweries Centenary Centre in central Johannesburg which will include an invitation to down two glasses of South African beer.

Other tours include visits to museums, the Mint, art galleries and the planetarium.

For R250 visitors can get a taste of Johannesburg's nightlife. This includes a sumptuous meal and jazz until the early hours venues across the city and Soweto.

Underground visits to gold mines, overnight stays at Robben Island, trips to Sun City and to exclusive game farms are included on the list of entertainment put on for delegates.

"We are determined this conference gives delegates an insight into the real South Africa and its people. They must get out of their first world conference and hotel rooms. Tourism could become the country's biggest moneyspinner and must be promoted," an SA Tourism Board spokesman said.

Unctad members still negotiating

John Dludlu

AS THE countdown to tomorrow's deadline continues, delegates from 188 countries of the UN Conference on Trade and Development (Unctad) are working long hours to reach agreement on the pre-conference text.

Trade department deputy director for bilateral relations Xavier Carim said negotiators had still not formulated a plan to involve developing countries in discussions on the proposed multilateral investment treaty.

The debate on the treaty is taking place within the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, excluding poor countries.

The plans for a rules-based multilateral investment regime, along the lines of the World Trade Organisation, have already been criticised by non-

government agencies from Africa, Asia and Latin America.

These groups say the plans for an investment treaty will take away governments' ability to support national industries and small firms.

Although the conference officially ends on Saturday, officials are planning to conclude work by tomorrow.

Apart from a political declaration from the presidency to guide Unctad for the next four years, agreement has to be reached on three areas of the pre-conference text: globalisation, development and trade; enterprise development and competitiveness; and Unctad's future work.

However, Carim said negotiators were moving towards agreement on Unctad's relationship to the WTO.

609/5/96 See Page 17

John Dlodlu

THE role and the future of the UN Conference on Trade and Development, which is holding its ninth plenary in Midrand, has been put under the spotlight by delegates.

Ministers from Unctad's 188 countries took turns in what appeared to be ritual drum-beating, punctuating their 10-minute addresses with calls for the restructuring of Unctad.

Speakers called on Unctad, the only international agency that looks at the developmental dimension of trade, to refocus and streamline its activities.

The frequency and the tone of the calls almost obscured, rather than highlighted, the crucial role of Unctad in world trade: that is, lifting the dwindling share of developing nations — notably the least developed segment of this group — in global trade.

Critics of the organisation say it is the world's most spectacular "talking shop" and lacks effect at the country level.

But this claim is likely to be countered or even overshadowed by a short catalogue of achievements. This list, according to secretary-general Rubens Ricupero, includes lobbying rich countries in the 1970s to write off \$6,5bn worth of public debt owed by developing countries and pioneering the general scheme of preferences — a system that grants, on a nonreciprocal basis, tariff preferences to developing nations.

In subsequent years, the organisation also played a role in the reduction of commercial debt, which continued to weigh on poor countries.

During the many rounds of trade talks, leading to last year's establishment of the World Trade Organisation, Unctad played a

Delegates call for revamped Unctad

supportive and advisory role for poor nations in articulating their plights.

UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali adds to this list the role played by Unctad in international commodity agreements on cocoa, rubber and tropical hard woods.

Although the achievements are impressive, the global landscape under which Unctad emerged has changed dramatically: today, for instance, there are more actors in the development arena, compared with the 1970s in which governments and multilateral financial institutions dominated the scene.

In the trade arena the protracted talks on a rules-based multilateral trade system resulted in the birth of the World Trade Organisation last year.

In addition, UN observers say, Unctad's bureaucracy of 420 people — known as the secretariat in bureaucratic speak — is becoming huge and "top-heavy".

This situation, in spite of the many noble goals Unctad served, could not just be allowed to continue, especially when the UN system was starting to feel the pinch of financial crisis.

It is against this background that many Unctad members made the stern calls for reform of Unctad and realignment of its activities. It was, perhaps, the very same set of circumstances and the anticipation of these calls from member governments that prompted Ricupero to begin the

introspection ahead of this year's conference.

On April 15 (weeks before the Midrand conference), Ricupero — with unswerving support from Boutros-Ghali — announced sweeping changes to the secretariat, cutting its nine divisions to four; appointing a co-ordinator for least developed countries and cutting the top fat.

The divisions are: globalisation and development strategies; investment, technology and enterprise; international trade and commodities; and services for development and trade efficiency.

It is still not clear how much will be saved by the restructuring or how many people will lose jobs.

Ricupero says even if there was no financial crisis in the UN system the changes, which come into effect after Midrand, would have been necessary.

Ricupero says there is a close link between the current session and the planned revamp of the secretariat. One of his wishes is to see mechanisms from the conference on implementing these areas of future orientation.

However, the real test of the changes will not be whether member states' voices are silenced; but will be the extent to which the changes in the secretariat — accompanied by Midrand declarations tomorrow — make a real difference in assisting developing countries to enjoy the opportunities of growth and trade in a globalising and liberalising economy.

SA praised for its role at UN trade conference

ST 12/5/96

By CAROL PATON

SOUTH Africa has drawn widespread praise for its role in forging compromise on difficult questions about liberalising trade between rich and poor countries at the UN Conference on Trade and Development.

The two-week conference, which was attended by 188 countries, ended in Midrand yesterday.

Under the leadership of South Africa's Trade and Industry Minister, Alec Erwin, it emerged revitalised and with a clear set of priorities.

Mr Erwin said it had been "very successful".

The conference's secretary general, Rubens Ricupero, said: "To a great extent the success of this conference is due to the role played by South Africa — the leadership of Mr Erwin and the example of South Africa itself."

The conference spent a lot of time discussing its future role. Mr Ricupero said the organisation had experienced a "rebirth". It had agreed on major reforms which focused the work of the conference around "a few priority trade and development issues on which it can make a substantial impact".

Three commissions were established to provide policy advice and technical assistance on trade, investment and enterprise development.

The idea of partnerships between developed and developing countries, and between governments, the private sector and non-governmental organisations, as the driving force for development was a central idea to emerge from the conference — and South Africa's experience made a large contribution.

The most important outcomes of the conference include:

- The world trade system: the conference was mandated to analyse issues around trade rules before these are presented at the World Trade Organisation. This is to ensure that interests of developing countries are taken into account. In particular, the impact of the recent rules on net food importing countries and stringent intellectual property rights should be assessed;

- Investment rules: The conference is to discuss the framework for a multilateral investment agreement, an issue being discussed by OECD countries;

- Environmental sanctions: to ensure that environmental policies in developed countries are not used to prevent market access by developing countries, policies must be transparent and their impact on developing countries must be assessed; and

- Debt reduction: the conference reaffirmed the need for debt relief, and decided to encourage agencies like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund to consider ways to do this.

New focus for Unctad

The Midrand Declaration has infused the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development with new life and put Africa back on the map, writes **Madeline Wackernagel**

In the world of international conferences, talk does not come cheap. It cost R18-million to host 3 000 delegates from 188 countries for the ninth United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (Unctad). But aside from re-affirming South Africa's renaissance on the international stage, what did the fortnight of talks achieve?

Four years ago, at the Cartagena conference, Unctad was searching for a role. Economic power had shifted during the 1980s towards the Bretton Woods institutions — the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gatt) — and Unctad's place among the international forums was under threat.

With the transformation of Gatt into the

World Trade Organisation (WTO), there was talk of abandoning Unctad altogether. It was felt the overlap between the two organisations was too great; there was only room for one trade body. But Gatt rounds leaned heavily towards member countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD); least developed countries (LDCs) and developing countries in general lacked the facilities of industrialised countries to lobby their cause.

As Xavier Carim, deputy director of foreign trade relations at the Department of Trade and Industry, explains, Unctad is the only organisation with a mandate to operate on behalf of the developing world. And, indeed, it has played an important role in enabling a convergence between North and South on issues of trade and economic policy.

The Cartagena conference heralded the need for a new approach to development issues. "We have to guard against complacency, we must be pro-active and innovative and in doing so point to concrete roles Unctad will play," said Unctad IX president and Trade and Industry Minister Alec Erwin at the opening.

Judging by the Midrand Declaration, the conference went a long way to achieving a new focus. "Key advances were made in attaining greater understanding of development strategy, including the implications for development of liberalisation and globalisation," says Carim. "From the extreme polarisation of views seen in the past there has been real progress towards consensus."

And the conference served to put Africa, as the poorest continent, back on the map. "It was an important victory for the South, reinforcing the place of LDCs in the global economy," says Rob Davies, an African National Congress MP.

And as the next WTO meeting in Singapore nears, the importance of Unctad's role as facilitator for the LDCs, helping to put their case to the WTO, was underlined. Multilateral investment agreements are high on the agenda for the December meeting; foreign direct investment, as South Africa is well aware, is critical for economic growth. So LDCs will be looking to Unctad to emphasise



Alec Erwin: 'We must be pro-active and innovative'
PHOTOGRAPH: RUTH MOTAU

the developmental objectives as well, says Carim. "It is imperative that any deal reflects the interests of all developing countries and Unctad will provide that support."

South Africa will also benefit from its reintegration into the Unctad framework — not only from the R30-million cash injection into our economy thanks to the delegates' spending, but more importantly from the gold mine of policy research and analytical information that forms the backbone of Unctad's work.

In addition, contacts made between private and public sector at the conference should bear fruit in terms of investment and trade deals.

And as president for the next four years, South Africa has ample opportunity to wield its influence and strengthen Unctad's focus. Any initial anxiety when Trevor Manuel withdrew due to the Cabinet reshuffle was dispelled as Erwin very quickly made his mark.

Indeed, the Midrand Declaration is a significant departure from the usual UN language. While this is only the beginning, the document offers some hope that consensus will translate into action.

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⑩ TURNOVER REACHES R4.5 BILLION
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US MERGER A MAJOR MILESTONE
INTERNATIONAL PENETRATION CONTINUES ⑩

Continued on page 11

UN's first chief from black Africa in catch-22 situation, say envoys

RICH MKHONDO
WASHINGTON BUREAU

ARG 16/12/96

New York - Kofi Annan, who will replace Boutros Boutros-Ghali as Secretary-General of the United Nations, faces a daunting task to transform the overburdened and financially drained world body into a lean and effective organisation.

Mr Boutros-Ghali, who withdrew from the race to lead the UN for five more years after the unrelenting objections of the United States, was widely respected for his intellect and devotion to the job, but his critics, led by Washington, said he had embraced small-scale reforms only under pressure.

They said he was more interested in policy than in sound administration.

Now Mr Annan, a 58-year-old Ghanaian who has been praised by President Bill Clinton as "an able and energetic manager - professional, impartial, well-versed in the issues at hand and a true proponent of reform" - must implement far-reaching

changes as soon as he takes over from Mr Boutros-Ghali on January 1. He will be the first head of the UN from black Africa.

After the 15-member Security Council voted to recommend the UN bureaucrat as the next secretary-general, Mr Annan said: "My highest priority will be to work with all member states to redefine the objectives of the organisation in the post-Cold War world. It is time to agree on what the UN can do and must do and what it cannot do."

But sceptics wonder how Mr Annan, himself a product of the UN bureaucracy, will be able to implement the tough reforms demanded by the Clinton administration and its allies such as Britain and Germany.

The reforms include "paring away deadwood", reducing staff and perks, reining in outdated agencies, cutting paperwork and conferences and reducing the number of peacekeeping operations.

"It is difficult to imagine how Annan will implement all of these changes without rocking the boat, particularly because he is the product

(336)
of the same bureaucracy he must dismantle," said one African diplomat.

Another African envoy said: "He faces a catch-22 situation. If he moves slowly, he will be condemned like his predecessor. If he moves quickly, he may demoralise the UN. One way or another he may get his fingers burned."

Mr Annan has had a 30-year career with the UN, with posts in Ethiopia, Egypt, Switzerland and the United States where he operated as undersecretary-general for peacekeeping.

"If he comes out early with a plan to make top-to-bottom reform, he will find people in the US Congress willing to work with him," said Marc Thiessen, a spokesman for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee led by conservative Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina.

Mr Boutros-Ghali did implement a few reforms, cutting his senior staff when he came in 1991, proposing to cut a further 10 percent of the 10 000-strong permanent UN staff and stick to a zero-growth budget.

Now Mr Annan must do better than this.

UNITED NATIONS 4 (336)

ANNAN TAKES OVER

FM 10/1/97

An emotional Daniel Abibi, the Congo delegate to the UN, said: "This is a great day for the sons of Africa." The occasion was the swearing in of Kofi Annan, the 58-year-old Ghanaian, as the first UN Secretary-General from sub-Saharan Africa.

Unlike his Egyptian predecessor Boutros Boutros Ghali, vetoed out of a second five-year term by the US after a turbulent first term which included the bungled peace-keeping mission in Bosnia, Annan is universally popular at the UN.

He is popular even though, as Under Secretary in charge of peace-keeping, he was at the sharp end of affairs in Bosnia. He was sent to Sarajevo last year amid speculation that Boutros Ghali was trying to put a rival into a political no-win situation as the failed, demoralised UN Protection Force handed over to Nato.

But Annan emerged with plaudits all round and ultimately the winner of a battle in the Security Council between France and the US. Having backed Boutros Ghali and then two Francophone African candidates (both vetoed),

France finally accepted Annan — who speaks French.

For all but two years — 1974-1976 when he diverted to head Ghana's Tourist Development — the UN has been Annan's career since 1962. Indeed some delegates were initially uneasy about his

long absence from Africa.

The son of Henry, paramount chief of the Fante people, Annan was educated in Ghana but won a Ford Foundation scholarship to study economics in the US, went on to earn a post graduate degree in Geneva and finally an MSc at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Starting with the World Health Organisation, Annan worked mainly in administration and personnel in UN agencies in Geneva, Cairo and Addis Ababa and married a Swedish artist, Nane (they have three children), before moving to headquarters in New York in 1980.

There Annan handled some of the stickiest jobs — programme planning and the budget — given the woeful state of the UN's finances, before being appointed in 1993 to his first diplomatic post as head of peace-keeping in the middle of the Bosnian crisis.

As the first UN professional to become Secretary-General, Annan knows exactly what is involved. He describes the job as multifaceted — administrator and manager but "also a political and diplomatic role and, above all, a moral voice which should be heard when necessary."

He acknowledges the UN failed in its protective role in Bosnia and such horrors as the massacre of Muslims at Srebrenica but says lessons have been learnt. In the Bosnian situation Unprofor lacked a clearly defined mandate and was "seen as being everything to everybody."

The UN had also learnt the need for its "Blue Berets" to have a concrete mandate plus the resources to carry it out and to defend themselves.

On the subject of Germany and Japan being elected permanent members of the Security Council, Annan says this is necessary to reflect today's realities as

opposed to 51 years ago.

But "they cannot expect to get in (as permanent members) alone," he said. "There are other countries in other regions with legitimate aspirations and if we are going to try to make this organisation a bit more democratic, then we



Kofi Annan and Boutros Boutros Ghali . . . out with the old in with the new

28 CURRENT AFFAIRS

need to broaden the council."

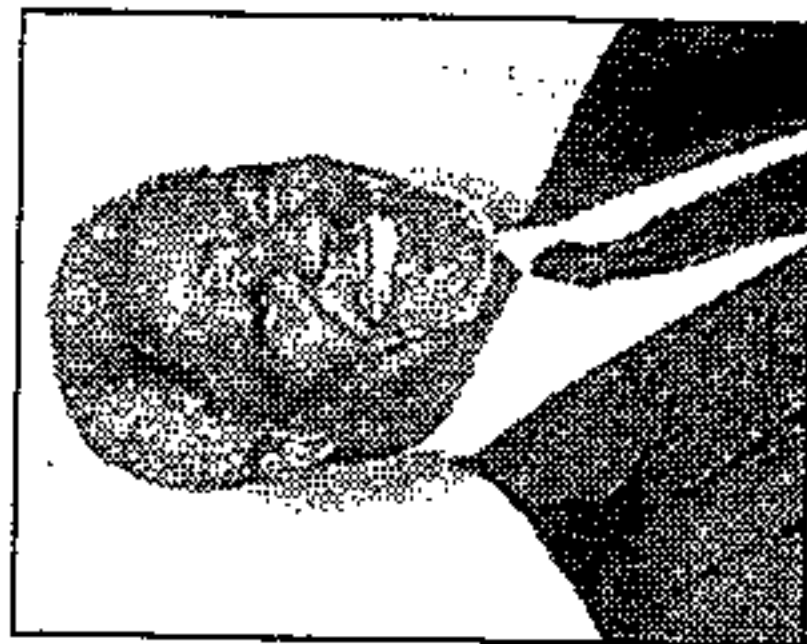
He has little sympathy with UN member countries who complain of being "pushed around" by bigger nations. They had "a right to speak up and defend their interests." If some felt they were victims it "is their own fault . . . Nobody can push you around unless you allow it."

Annan said Africa would take "quite a lot of my time" but added that only political solutions could resolve the crises in the Great Lakes region, Sudan, Liberia and Angola.

Refusing to comment directly on whether Boutros Ghali had been made a "scapegoat" by the US, Annan paid tribute to the Egyptian's contribution, adding: "I think history will judge him much more kindly . . . and realistically than I have seen in some quarters."

Annan is giving priority to the task of improving relations with member governments and restoring the UN's credibility, especially with the US whose budget contribution is \$1.5bn in arrears. He says it is important to get member states to reaffirm their belief in the UN.

"But it is equally important that we really demystify the UN and not make it so bureaucratic and distant from the average person. I believe that if we have the support of the people, if they understand what we are trying to do, the politicians will be there." ■



Plans to restructure the UN unveiled by Annan

(336)

New chief in bid to meet US demands so that they pay arrears of about \$1-billion

Star 19/3/97

Secretary-General Kofi Annan has outlined the first detailed, concrete plans for streamlining the United Nations in the hope of polishing its image, solving its financial problems and persuading the US Congress to authorise spending for about \$1-billion (about R4.4-billion) in unpaid American dues.

His proposals, the first part of a reform programme Annan, of Ghana, promised when he assumed the job in January, deal mainly with management and organisational matters that fall under the secretary-general's personal authority.

They involve shifting some \$200-million (about R880-million) in bureaucratic spending to development aid, reducing budget and staff levels and reorganising parts of the New York-based secretariat.

The response was favourable, both from the administration and from the most powerful critic of the United Nations in the US Congress, Senator Jesse Helms, the Republican chairman of the senate foreign relations committee. Annan called Helms earlier this week to brief him on the proposals.

Helms' spokesman, Mark Thiessen, called the secretary-general's announcement "a good first step in the right direction." But he said the senator wants to insure the staff cuts are real. "We don't want any shell games here," he said.

He added that Helms will press for conditions to be written into legislation authorising payment of Washington's arrears to ensure that certain goals are met before any money is paid.

Annan was chosen for the position after Washington vetoed a second term for his

predecessor, Boutros Boutros-Ghali of Egypt, saying he had not done enough to promote change at the United Nations.

"Congress said it will pay if it gets reform. We are giving them reform. I hope they will deliver on their part of the bargain," Annan said at a news conference.

Washington's chief delegate to the United Nations, Bill Richardson, called the proposals "a significant step towards the kind of structural reform that will help the United Nations do more, better and for less."

Annan said he will present a package of more sweeping suggestions in July for the long term, for which he would seek member states' approval.

Diplomats say that any improvement in the UN's financial prospects is likely to be tied to the fate of this second package.

Among the changes that the United States is hoping to negotiate is a cut in its share of the total UN budget.

The administration wants Congress to appropriate some \$1.2-billion (about R5-billion) to pay back dues to the United Nations and other international organisations but favours withholding most of the money until 1999, when the outcome of the latest spending cuts should be clear.

Under the new budget, 1 000 staff posts, most currently vacant, will remain unfilled.

Other plans include the merging of the secretariat's three separate departments dealing with economic and social issues into one, taking steps to co-ordinate aid agencies' field operations more tightly and consolidating the separate administrative, personnel and procurement services these agencies maintain in New York.

The secretary-general also plans to overhaul the UN information department and

draw up a code of conduct for its staff.

While he can make most of these changes on his own authority, much more difficult issues are likely to be raised by the second package of proposals he will put forward this summer.

One is Washington's insistence that its share of the regular budget be cut from the current 25% to around 20% and that its peacekeeping assessment be trimmed from just over 30% to about 25% of the peacekeeping budget.

But diplomats acknowledge this negotiation may be hard to separate from parallel efforts to enlarge the Security Council by giving permanent seats to Germany, Japan and some large developing nations.

Only if Germany and Japan get permanent council seats are they likely to be generous in helping fill the budget gap created by the cuts the United States is seeking. - NY Times.

UN gears up for radical reforms

(336) CT 24/6/97

(336)

THE UNITED NATIONS' largest fiefdoms are under threat from a move to consolidate its scattered agencies, **JAMES BONE** writes from New York.

THE United Nations is preparing a radical restructuring of its humanitarian and development functions as part of a sweeping reform plan intended to ready the organisation for the next century.

Officials say that plans are being made to consolidate disparate UN agencies and departments in a move that threatens some of the largest fiefdoms of the organisation's system. The UN Development Programme, the UN Fund for Population Activities, the UN Children's Fund and the three economic departments of the UN Secretariat are to be brought together in what has been tentatively titled the Development Operations Group or "Dog".

The Department of Humanitarian Affairs at UN headquarters in New York, which was created at Britain's insistence after the exodus of the Iraqi Kurds and the floods in Bangladesh in 1991, will be wrapped into the Geneva-based UN High Commission for Refugees. Mr Kofi Annan, the secretary-general, is under pressure to revamp the organisation to win back the whole-hearted support of the United States, which owes more than \$1 billion (R4,5bn) in dues to the world body.

The UN chief has promised to unveil his blueprint for reform in July and has appointed Mr Maurice Strong, a Canadian businessman and UN expert, to prepare the report. The first details of the planned restructuring began to seep out at UN headquarters as agency heads and other senior officials gathered in New York last week to discuss the changes.

Questions still remain, however, about the place of the World Food Programme, whose work is three quarters humanitarian relief and one quarter development. Also uncertain is how the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation will fit into the new structure. The Departments of Political Affairs and Peacekeeping Operations at UN headquarters are expected to remain separate, although they will work more closely together.

The cumbersome Department of Public Information has already been renamed the Office for Communications and Media Services and a com-



NEW BROOM: United Nations Secretary-General Mr Kofi Annan is restructuring of the organisation's agencies.

PICTURE: AP

mittee set up to redirect its work.

Annan has pledged to cut 1 000 posts by attrition from the 10 000-strong bureaucracy of the UN Secretariat by the end of the century, saving tens of millions of dollars a year. But there is growing concern about the ageing of the UN staff, which has been caused by a long-running hiring freeze.

The average age of the permanent UN staff is now 48 and about half are due to retire over the next 10 years. Only 5% of staff in the UN Secretariat are under 35. Germany, meanwhile, is pushing for the creation of a new World Environment Organisation and is offering office space in Bonn which is to be vacated when the German government moves to Berlin. The proposed body would take over from the troubled UN Environment Programme, which is based in Nairobi, and the Commission for Sustainable Development created after the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. Helmut Kohl, the German Chancellor, is expected to make his country's pitch for the new organisation at an environmental summit scheduled to take place at UN headquarters at the end of next month. — The Times, London.

THE BIG STORY

Security Council seat within SA's grasp

ARL 21/7/94

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MOVES TO REFORM THE UNITED NATIONS - INCLUDING THE POSSIBILITY OF A DEVELOPING COUNTRY LIKE SOUTH AFRICA BECOMING A PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL - ARE UNDER WAY. THE CAPE ARGUS POLITICAL STAFF AND JOHN GOSHSKO OF THE WASHINGTON POST REPORT

South Africa's ambition to become one of the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council has been brought a dramatic step closer by a United States decision to support a move to increase the size of the council to include three developing countries.

The US also has decided to back the demands of Germany and Japan to become full permanent members.

The UN Security Council is the most powerful United Nations body.

Its approval is needed for UN military intervention and for all peacekeeping operations, and its decisions are binding in international law on all UN member states.

South Africa, Nigeria and India are among the developing countries which have been agitating for membership of the 15-nation council, which has five permanent members.

The US is by far the most powerful member of the council, and its support for the reform is considered vital to any change in the UN charter.

The US agreed last week to support the demand for permanent seats on the council for three developing nations as part of a council expansion that also would include Germany and Japan.

But, while US officials sought to portray the offer as a major gesture toward the Third World, it left many things unsaid.

Most important, officials refused to comment on whether Washington believed new members should have the veto power over council decisions that the existing five permanent members wielded.

State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns said in Washington: "The United States now agrees that we ought to have developing countries on the Security Council as permanent mem-

bers.

"We believe that the regions themselves - the African countries, the Latin American countries and the Asian countries - ought to decide how these seats will be filled."

Mr Burns made the announcement after American UN ambassador Bill Richardson briefed a closed meeting of UN diplomats about the US position.

Asked about the veto question, Mr Burns replied: "We have not taken a position on the veto for new permanent members, including Japan and Germany, but we will oppose any resolution which infringes on prerogatives for current permanent members."

News of the expansion initiative drew an immediate negative response from Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Jesse Helms, a long-time critic of the UN.

Mr Helms authorised an aide to say he was "incredulous" not just at the proposal, which he opposed, but at the fact that he learned about it from news reports.

Mr Helms was not informed in advance by the State Department.

A senior State Department official acknowledged the failure to brief Mr Helms.

The reason, he said, was that Mr Richardson went public prematurely, leaking the details to the New York Times.

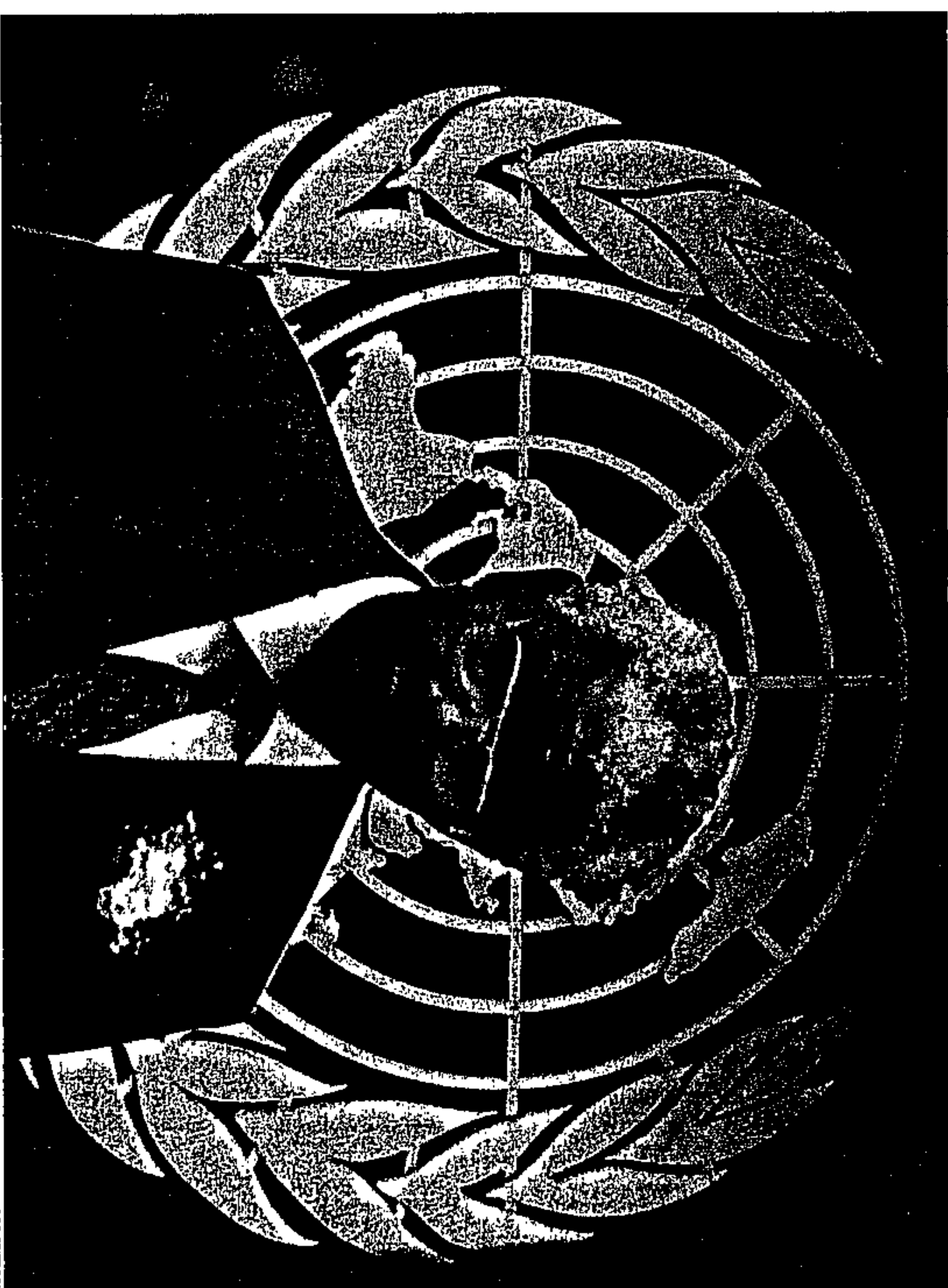
"Bill got way out ahead of himself on this one," the official said.

For years, Third World countries have been seeking an expansion of seats on the council, which is the most important body in the UN structure because of its power to act against threats to world peace and security.

Several United Nations sources said they believed the United States decision to support expansion was aimed at winning the co-operation of developing countries for reforms sought by Washington, including lowering the American share of the UN budget and peace-keeping costs.

The present permanent members - the United States, Russia, China, France and Britain - were the five principal World War 2 victors and have held their seats since the UN's inception in 1945.

It has 10 other members who are elect-



B2B GREENSON

Joining the club? President Mandela and the United Nations crest - it seems likely South Africa could soon have a seat on the Security Council

ed for two-year terms from various regional groupings.

The US has long backed permanent seats for Germany and Japan on the grounds that they were major economic powers whose membership would make the council more reflective of present-day realities.

With regard to other countries, US officials publicly have said for some time that they would be willing to consider further council expansion.

Behind the scenes, however, the United States' position has been more

complicated and equivocal.

Specifically, senior US officials have said in private that increasing council membership beyond 20 or 21 would pose a serious danger of making it too unwieldy to function effectively.

Even more, they fear that giving the veto to Third World countries would threaten many high-priority American policy initiatives in the council.

They note, for example, that if there had been Third World members with veto power at the time of the 1990-'91 Persian Gulf crisis, it is highly doubtful

the US would have been able to get council endorsement for the economic embargo and subsequent military campaign against Iraq.

However, US officials have acknowledged that openly opposing Third World membership would be an untenable position because of the resentment it would arouse.

As a result, the Clinton administration has been moving reluctantly toward a the idea of endorsing expansion while temporising indefinitely with the veto question.

SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 13/14 1997

Cabinet to debate bid for UN security council seat

CLIVE SAWYER

ARG 13/9/97 (336)

The Foreign Ministry will ask the Cabinet within the next two weeks whether South Africa should apply for a seat on the United Nations security council.

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Aziz Pahad said the ministry would not put a specific recommendation to the Cabinet. "We will offer them a range of options."

Factors in the decision would include South Africa's human and financial resources, and what its objective would be in trying for a council seat.

Mr Pahad said it was widely acknowledged, including by the developed states, that there was a need to restructure the UN general assembly and security council.

It seemed certain that Japan and Germany would get permanent seats, while there were continuing discussions on the share of security council seats which should be given jointly to Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The Non-Aligned Movement had proposed two new permanent seats on the council for Africa, Asia and Latin America, as well as another two non-permanent seats, while the Organisa-

tion of African Unity was considering saying that even the two permanent seats should be rotational.

Mr Pahad said the other issue of contention was about powers of veto.

Currently the five permanent members of the council each have a veto on resolutions.

The Non-Aligned Movement and OAU stance is that there cannot be two classes of membership of the council, one with a veto and the other without.

Addressing a press briefing in Cape Town, Mr Pahad said South Africa was also "deeply concerned" about the situation in Angola.

Unita had been told that if it failed to conform to the Lusaka protocols by the end of the month, it would face UN security council sanctions.

"South Africa is very concerned that if sanctions are imposed in our region we must ensure those sanctions are realistically applied."

Mr Pahad said this country hoped that Unita would understand the realities of the current situation.

■ Mr Pahad announced the retirement of Rusty Evans, director-general of foreign affairs. He said Mr Evans would assist in the selection of his successor, who is to take office at the end of the year.

Central Africa on the Brink

The United Nations finds it difficult getting a foothold

By Farhan Haq

THE UNITED NATIONS must build trust among the new leadership in Central Africa and also insist on investigating reports of atrocities in the region, UN secretary-general Kofi Annan said a few days ago.

"We are dealing with new regimes that are to some extent fragile and not that well-established," Annan said of the governments of the Great Lakes region, which include Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly Zaïre).

The UN chief said, however, that regardless of the fragility of governments in the region "the record is disturbing," particularly reports of human rights violations.

Annan urged greater actions to investigate human rights abuses and supported the decision of UN high commissioner on refugees Sadako Ogata to suspend refugee work in eastern Congo as long as the Kinshasa government forcibly repatriates Rwandans and Burundese living in camps.

In Kinshasa, he has been limited in what he could do, and was criticised by human rights groups for bowing to several of Kinshasa's demands, including replacing outspoken UN human rights rapporteur Roberto Garreton.

But Annan insisted on Thursday last week that he would continue pushing for an investigation into reports that the Congolese government - once the rebel force that ousted Zaïrean dictator Mobutu Sese Seko, who died 10 days ago - conducted massacres in the eastern provinces of North and South Kivu.

"We are determined to get to the facts," he said. "If difficulties persist and (UN rights monitors) are not allowed to do their work, then the facts will be there for the world to judge."

At the same time, Annan noted that the history of the region could have convinced many new leaders not to trust the United Nations or Western powers, which have been blamed for propping up the Mobutu regime.

Some of the leaders in Central Africa, he noted, were supporters of

Congo's first prime minister, Patrice Lumumba.

"For some of them, they believe the international community deprived them of the chance to rule Congo," Annan argued.

As a result, he said, many regional leaders are wary of UN involvement because they believe that they could also be overthrown.

Several regional leaders - notably pro-Lumumba President Laurent Kabila of Congo, Rwandan army chief and Vice President Paul Kagame and President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda - have mentioned American and French support for Mobutu as a reason to maintain their distance from some Western countries.

We are dealing with new regimes that are fragile and not well-established

Museveni, Kabila and Kagame forged close ties when they were resistance leaders based in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and remain in close contact, US ambassador Bill Richardson noted recently.

Annan's comments underscore the bitterness that lingers in the region nearly 40 years after hundreds of UN peacekeepers lost their lives - including then Secretary-General Dag

Hammarhjeld - intervening in the affairs of the newly independent Congo.

Lumumba was overthrown in 1962, reportedly with the assistance of the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). He died in the hands of troops of the then leader of secessionist Katanga province, Moïse Tshombe.

UN peacekeepers, dispatched to the Congo shortly after independence in 1960, left in 1964 when Tshombe briefly became president, only to be ousted by Mobutu one year later.

For a veteran Lumumbist like Kabila, who set up several mini-states in Zaïre to resist Mobutu's regime, neither the United Nations nor the West played a distinguished part in what became Mobutu's economically ruinous 32-year dictatorship.

Since Kabila assumed power in May, Annan conceded, the United Nations has received mixed signals from Congolese officials, repeatedly delaying its investigation into the massacre reports in the eastern provinces.

The UN chief voiced some sympathy for the suspicions of regional governments and conceded that "history will judge us very harshly" for the UN failure to act to prevent the 1994 massacre of as many as one million Rwandans.



UN Secretary General Kofi Annan ... building trust among the new leadership in Central Africa is of utmost importance.

But Annan has also conceded that the record shows that some of the main actors in the region, including the Rwandan Army, have committed abuses which must be investigated.

Richardson, who has met Kabila several times in recent months, has also recently urged stronger steps to deal with Kinshasa's rights record.

After months of suggesting that Kabila needs time and support to establish his government, the US ambassador this week admitted that the tone of a recent letter to Kabila - allowing UN rights monitoring - was disturbing.

"Unless the United Nations takes categorical steps to make clear to the Kabila government the importance of letting the investigation proceed, it may not be able to assist the refugees, tens of thousands of whom remain in eastern Congo," said Binnette Mowroy-Africa. "I am not convinced that they are going to do so."

Annan, however, still hoped to be able to complete that investigation, and to help in mediating the conflict in neighbouring Congo-Brazzaville.

Although plans to dispatch UN troops there have been set aside while fighting rages in the capital, Annan said troops could be sent once a peace agreement between President Pascal Lissouba and former president Denis Sassou-Nguesso is in place.

He added that there had been hopeful signs that the fighters in that conflict were becoming tired of waging their struggle in Brazzaville.

Perhaps the United Nations should appeal to soldiers directly in such conflicts, Annan said, since "it is they who are being killed, not necessarily the leaders." - *Sapir-JPS.*

UN ethos kept in view as world body steers a reformist course

FOR an institution which encompasses 185 countries, the United Nations (UN) is strangely inward-looking. Secretary-general Kofi Annan heads an organisation preoccupied more with itself than with the outside world.

Annan is seeking to transform the UN, making it a modern, solvent, rational institution capable of acting efficiently in the post-Cold War world.

His reform plans dominate the agenda of the 52nd general assembly which opened yesterday. The reforms, and Annan during his nine-month tenure, have won a generous dose of goodwill among diplomats and UN officials.

"We will never get another year where there has been a honeymoon for a new secretary-general and where change has been so much needed," said John Weston, UK ambassador to the UN.

Few would question the need

Potentially lifesaving reform is topping the United Nations' agenda as the general assembly starts a new session, write **Michael Littlejohns** and **Laura Silber**

(336) 20 17 19 197

for reform of the UN, crafted in another era, haunted by recent failures in Somalia and former Yugoslavia, and facing financial woes.

There is wide support for Annan's moves to overhaul the UN bureaucracy, slash budgets, merge overlapping programmes and deliver the savings to the poorest states as development aid.

Annan has introduced a cabinet-style administration, a radical departure from the intensely personal style of governance of predecessor Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

He has abolished 1 000 secretariat posts, reducing the staff to about 9 000, although critics in the US Congress are clamouring for more cuts.

Annan, who was educated in

sador to the UN, recently travelled the world to lobby for support for the US proposal. Last week he said he was encouraged because China did not reject it outright. The new scale of assessments is supposed to be approved before the end of the year.

Some UN experts say that despite apparently deep divisions, this deadline may be met, especially if China's current low rate of less than 1% is raised to 4% — in part because increased national income after acquisition of Hong Kong; and if Japan, already the second biggest contributor, agrees to pay about 19%.

The European Union would have to hand over about 41%, an increase of five percentage points,

which many delegates say would be unacceptable.

Last week Richardson said he expected Congress to approve \$930m, to pay the "lion's share" of its debt to the world body.

However UN observers say this promise will not necessarily refill depleted UN coffers. "The bottom line is that there is not going to be more than \$100m in fiscal year 1998 (from the US), and that money can only be paid subject to a number of conditions," said Steve Dimoff, Washington vice-president of the UN Association.

Malaysia's UN ambassador Razali Ismail says he will refuse to allow Washington to pay anything less than its full dues. "We must call the Americans bluff. We must

be ready to play poker with them," said Ismail, outgoing general assembly president.

It is not clear how pressure could be brought to bear on the US, and while the UN will try to win approval for a new modus vivendi, senior officials are acutely aware they must not get bogged down solely with reform issues.

"The mindset of reform should become an essential part of the way we do business. But no matter how vital reform is for our future, we should not allow the process to obscure the broader picture — our work for peace, development, and human rights," Annan has told UN staff.

Yet reforms are crucial for the UN, believes Ismail. Otherwise a marginalised organisation would, he says, limp ineffectually from crisis to crisis: "The greatest danger for the UN is creeping irrelevance." — Financial Times.

Nzo urges overhaul of UN Security Council

Star 23/9/97

(336)

Third World will agree to a more representative council only if they are admitted to the elite world body

By Rich Mkhondo
Washington Bureau

Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo has called on the United Nations to transform the United Nations Security Council into a "democratic and credible" body.

Addressing the 52nd debate of the UN General Assembly in New York, Nzo urged the 185 member countries to either eliminate the veto enjoyed by the five countries comprising

the Security Council or to extend the veto to the rotating 10 new permanent members.

"Central to the Security Council reform process, is the question of the veto which has been the focal point in our deliberations. Indeed the democratisation of the council hinges on the veto being either eliminated or extended to the new permanent members. Permanent membership without the veto represents merely a symbolic gesture to new perma-

nent members which would serve to perpetuate an unjust and discriminatory practice and accord them inferior status," Nzo said.

The problem is that while the UN is made up of 185 countries, each with an equal vote in the General Assembly, the real seats of power are in the Security Council. Even there, some countries are more equal than others, because the five permanent members - the United States, Russia, China,

Britain and France - are endowed by the UN Charter with veto power over any council action. The 10 other members, which have no veto, are elected for two-year terms.

For several years, the United States has advocated giving permanent seats to Germany and Japan, two post-war economic superpowers, on the grounds that their membership would better reflect contemporary realities and encourage them to play a greater financial and

political role in UN affairs.

But Third World countries, a majority of the UN membership, have refused to back the German and Japanese bids unless they too get permanent council seats.

The problems and questions associated with restructuring the council are formidable, but diplomats here believe the chances of pushing changes through the General Assembly are better than ever.

Changes must be approved

by a two-thirds majority of the General Assembly and all five permanent council members.

Adding developing countries would grant recognition to the emerging importance of nations such as South Africa, Egypt, India and the countries of south-east Asia.

But other UN watchers say the risk is that the power of authoritarian, anti-democratic states within the United Nations would decrease the influence of the United States.

Bloated UN seeks to reinvent itself

(376) Star 23/9/97
Annan wants solvency and US backing

By Ron Macdonald
Washington Bureau

Seeking to transform the United Nations into a modern, solvent and rational institution capable of acting efficiently in this post-cold war era, 185 leaders representing member countries, including South Africa, are meeting in New York for the world body's 52nd general assembly.

UN reforms are among the chief topics to be discussed by this year's session which is sitting until the end of the month.

In an effort to placate critics that the UN has been a bloated, inefficient organisation more prone to talking than effective diplomacy, Secretary-General Kofi Annan has tabled proposals which would streamline the institution's overlapping bureaucracy and inject new relevance.

While the reforms have won a generous dose of goodwill among UN supporters, including media magnate Ted Turner, who has promised to personally donate \$1-billion (about R4.7-billion) during the next 10 years, Annan's plans have not satisfied his toughest critics, including influential members of the US Congress.

The members of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which has a final say in the funding for foreign bodies, said they were not impressed by Annan's proposals unveiled in July.

"I'm underwhelmed," said Senator Rod Grams, a member of the committee.

"Not one programme was cut. It looks like the bureaucracy won the day and reform is a distant second."

Annan, who has been at the helm for nine months and is the first secretary-general from sub-Saharan Africa, has promised to end decades of a "fragmented, duplicative and rigid" organisation which had been unable to meet expectations with accomplishments, said he had been aware that his reforms would not impress some American politicians.

"I know there are people in Washington who want to see a much stricter and a much deeper cut, who have also in some ways made certain conditions or in some instances, even threats," Annan said when unveiling the reforms.

"These unilateral demands do not impress, they do not intimidate."

"In fact, they offend," he added.

UN diplomats said Annan was never likely to propose sweeping reforms, if only because his ability to deliver fundamental change at the UN is severely limited.

For example, a reduction in US dues from the current 25% of the UN budget to 20%, as a US bill calls for, would require a vote of the 185 member states in the UN General Assembly.

The 50-year-old Ghananian is trying to give them a reason to support the reforms by promising more focus on development assistance.

He has refrained from slashing the bloated UN bureaucracy, which is an important source of employment and prestige for developing countries.

The thrust of his reforms to be debated and ratified by the assembly will include:

- Revamping the bureaucracy to focus on economic and social affairs.
- Removing 1 000 (of some 10 000) jobs from the budget and holding spending to \$1.3 billion a year.
- Cutting administrative costs by a third and slashing paperwork by 40%.

■ Naming a deputy secretary-general, amalgamating 12 bodies in the bureaucracy and creating a cabinet-style team that would eliminate two-thirds of the 27 senior officials reporting directly to him.

While Annan's proposals fit broadly under the rubric of UN reform, they are a far cry from the sweeping retrenchments demanded by conservative US Senator Jesse Helms, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and other members of the Republican Party. They view the UN as hostile to US interests and want many of its programmes eliminated and staff dismissed.

Annan was virtually handpicked by the US to succeed Boutros Boutros-Ghali. He cannot appear too compliant with American wishes if he wants to maintain his effectiveness.

Earlier this year, Helms sounded a cordial note, but included an explicit challenge and an implicit threat when he wrote to Annan to invite him for coffee at the US capital: "If you choose to be an agent of real and deep-seated change, you will find many supporters, and even allies here in Congress."

Annan has been squeezed between

Washington, which wants sweeping reforms and major cost-cutting, and developing nations, which fear that reforms would reduce their UN economic assistance, the number of positions they hold and how much UN influence they wield.

These nations view reform as a way to redistribute power within the organisation rather than a way to save money. Because these nations hold a lot of votes in the 185-member General Assembly, Annan cannot ignore them.

Each January, the UN sends out an assessment to each country, which is due by the end of the month. At least 60 countries, including South Africa, have paid their 1997 assessments.

Eight countries, the United States, Japan, Germany, France, Britain, Italy, Russia and Canada are assessed at almost 75% of the UN budget. The United States alone is responsible for 25% and Japan for almost 15%.

But in recent years Washington has attached conditions to payments aimed at extracting pledges of reforms from the organisation.

Now the US owes the world body more than \$1-billion in unpaid dues, but the Republican-controlled Congress has said it would only pay about \$819-million in back dues if the UN complies with a long list of conditions contained in a bill drafted by Helms.

The conditions include lowering the total percentage the US had been paying into the UN budget; the reduction of the size of the organisation's bloated personnel; holding all UN conferences in either New York, Geneva, Rome and Vienna, where the UN already has offices, and that the Congress must be consulted before any peacekeeping troops are deployed.

The Clinton administration has tacitly supported the Helms bill, believing it represents the best chance to get Congress to pay the back dues.

If the Helms bill becomes law, the burden would fall on UN Ambassador Bill Richardson to persuade the General Assembly to go along. US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, former US Ambassador to the UN, said US and UN negotiators were nearing a "grand bargain" on reforms in exchange for dues payment.

Reforms are crucial for the UN, otherwise the organisation would limp ineffectually from crisis to crisis and creep into irrelevance.

“
It looks like
bureaucracy
won the day
”

Nzo hails Annan plans to reform world body

RICH MKHONDO
FOREIGN SERVICE

ARG 23/9/97

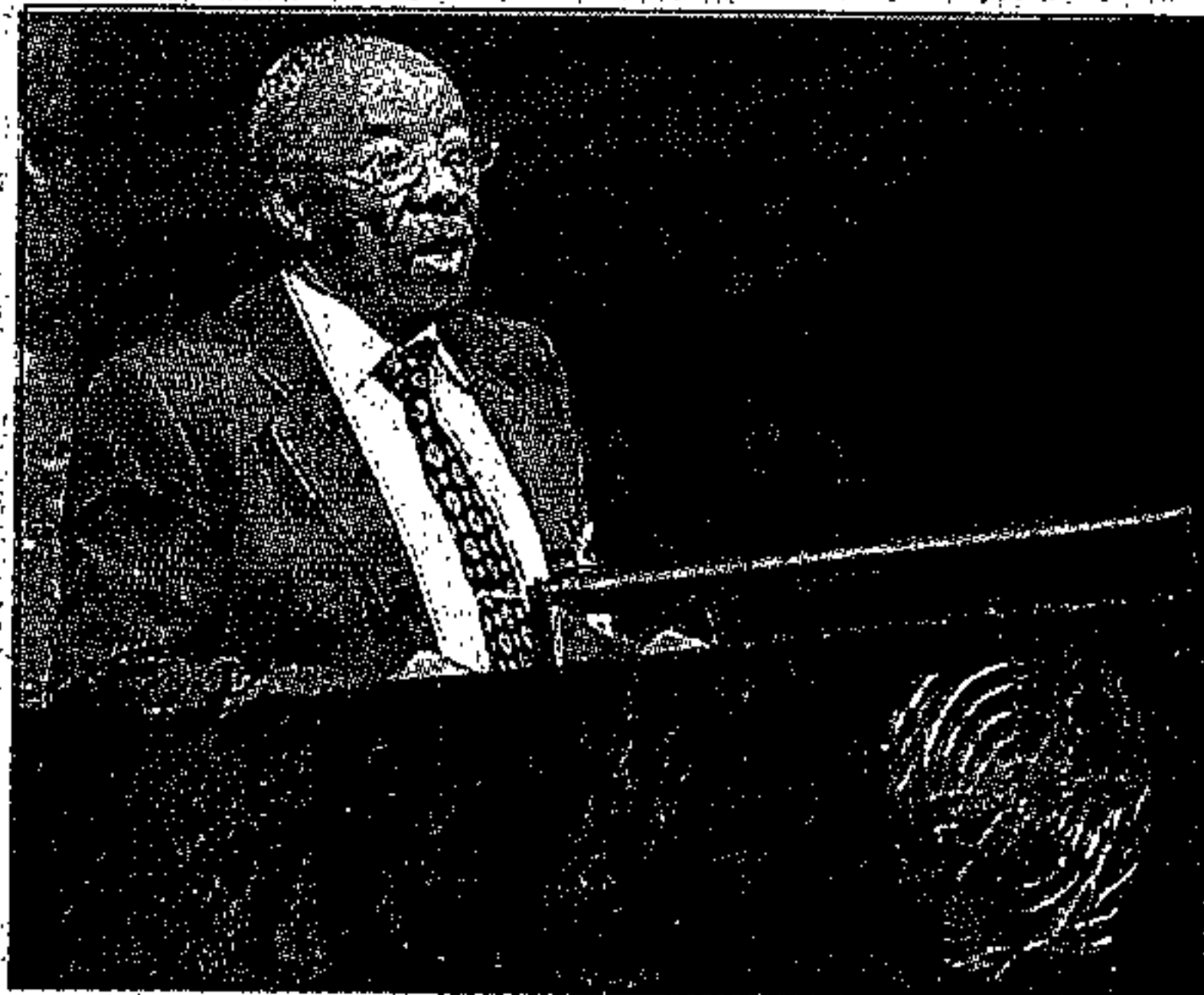
(336)

Washington - Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo has praised United Nations secretary-general Kofi Annan's proposals to transform the world body from an overburdened and financially drained institution into an efficient organisation ready to grapple with the challenges of the post-Cold War era.

Addressing the General Assembly, Mr Nzo called on member states to pay their dues and thus help Mr Annan, the first secretary-general of the world body from sub-Saharan Africa, rescue the organisation from near-bankruptcy.

"The zeal which the secretary-general has displayed in addressing, through his reform, the difficulties confronting this organisation is impressive," Mr Nzo told the 185-member assembly.

Reforms of the UN are among the chief topics to be discussed during this year's General Assembly debates.



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Pushing: SA Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo at the UN yesterday.

SA launches Africa's bid ^(23b) for Security Council role

MARCO GRANELLI
FOREIGN SERVICE

ARG 23/9/97

New York – South Africa has announced its intention to push for an overhaul of the UN Security Council that will expand membership to include at least two permanent members from Africa, and curb the veto power of the five original members.

Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo said at the opening of the UN's 52nd General Assembly here yesterday that the restructuring of the Security Council was "central to the process of modernisation of the United Nations".

It was necessary to "redress existing imbalances and transform it into a transparent organisation accountable to its broader membership".

"South Africa fully supports the Non-Aligned Movement's position that there should be no partial or selective expansion in the membership of the Security Council to the detriment of developing countries.

"The re-affirmation by the Harare summit of the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) of Africa's claim for two permanent and five non-permanent seats, with the same powers and prerogatives enjoyed by the current permanent members, in an expanded Security Council is consistent with the (UN) Charter principle of equitable geographical representation," he said.

Broaching a subject likely to be the biggest stumbling block to reform talks, Mr Nzo said: "The democratisation of the Council hinges on the veto being either eliminated or extended to the new permanent members. Permanent membership without the veto represents merely a symbolic gesture to new permanent members that would serve to perpetuate an unjust and discriminatory practice."

■ In an interview later, Mr Nzo said South Africa would accept a permanent seat on the Council, even if it did not come with a veto right.

UN chief caught in reform crossfire

RICH McKENDRICK
FOREIGN SERVICE

Washington - In an effort to placate critics who say the United Nations has been a bloated, inefficient organisation more prone to talking than effective diplomacy, Secretary-General Kofi Annan has tabled proposals to streamline the institution's overlapping bureaucracy and inject new relevance.

While the reforms have been praised by UN supporters, including media magnate Ted Turner, who has promised to donate \$1-billion (R4.7-billion) during the next 10 years, Mr Annan's plans have not satisfied his toughest critics, including influential members of the United States Congress.

Members of the powerful United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which has the final say in the funding for foreign bodies, said they were not impressed by Mr Annan's proposals, which were unveiled in July.

"I'm underwhelmed," said Senator Rod Grams, a member of the committee. "Not one programme was cut. It looks like bureaucracy won and reform is a distant second."

Mr Annan, who has been at the helm for nine months and is the first secretary-general from sub-Saharan Africa, has promised to end decades of a "fragmented, duplicative and rigid" organisation which has been unable to meet expectations with accomplishments.

He said he had been aware his reforms would not impress some American politicians.

"I know there are people in Washington who want to see a much stricter and a much deeper cut, who have also in some ways made certain conditions or, in some instances, even threats," Mr Annan said when unveiling the



Reformist UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan
reforms. "These unilateral demands do not impress, they do not intimidate. In fact, they offend."

UN diplomats said Mr Annan was never likely to propose sweeping reforms, if only because his ability to deliver fundamental change at the UN was severely limited. For example, a reduction in US dues from the present 25% of the UN budget to 20%, as called for by an American bill, would require a vote of the 185-member states in the General Assembly.

It is unclear how pressure could be brought to bear on the United States to pay its dues.

For any reform package to succeed, Mr Annan must build political support in the present session of the General Assembly - and that means giving the many developing countries that hold the deciding votes a stake in reform.

The 50-year-old Ghanaian is trying

to give them a reason to support the reforms by promising more focus on development assistance. He has refrained from slashing the bloated UN bureaucracy, which is an important source of employment and prestige for developing countries.

The thrust of his reforms to be debated and ratified by the assembly include:

- Revamping the bureaucracy to focus on economic and social affairs, development, humanitarian aid and peace and security involving the main bureaucracy of about 10 000 staff.

- Removing 1 000 jobs from the budget, holding spending to \$1.3-billion (R6.11-billion) a year, cutting administrative costs from 38% to 25% and reducing paperwork by 40% by the end of the year.

- Saving \$200-million (R940-million) by 2002 to be put in a new fund for economic assistance programmes for poor nations.

- Naming a deputy secretary-general, amalgamating 12 bodies in the bureaucracy and creating a cabinet-style team that would eliminate two-thirds of the 27 senior officials reporting directly to him.

- Human rights will get priority in the cabinet under a new plan to put the Geneva-based Centre for Human Rights under Irish President Mary Robinson, who is UN High Commissioner for Human Rights.

While Mr Annan's proposals fit broadly under the heading of UN reform, they are a far cry from the sweeping retrenchments demanded by conservative US senator Jesse Helms,

chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and other influential members of the Republican Party.

They view the UN as hostile to American interests and want many of its programmes eliminated and staff dismissed.

Mr Annan was virtually handpicked by the US to succeed Boutros Boutros-Chali. He cannot appear too compliant with American wishes if he wants to maintain his effectiveness.

Maurice Strong, the UN's executive co-ordinator for reform said, "As we have explained to the people in Congress, we could not deliver a report that was simply a point-by-point response" to the reforms being demanded by the US Congress. "This is not just a cost-cutting exercise. It's a redeployment exercise."

Mr Annan has been squeezed between Washington, which wants sweeping reforms and major cost-cutting, and developing nations, which

'US wants sweeping reforms... but fear they will lead to a loss of influence'

fear that reforms would reduce their UN economic assistance, the number of positions they hold and how much UN influence they wield.

These nations view reform as a way to redistribute power within the organisation rather than a way to save money. Because they hold a lot of votes in the General Assembly, Mr Annan cannot ignore them.

He also has been caught in the cross-fire between UN bureaucrats defending their turf. Some officials recruited political backing from outside the organisation to bring pressure on the Ghanaian.

MBER 26, 1997

It's time for UN to act on Africa - Nzo

But 'positive focus' praised

MARCO GRANELLI
FOREIGN SERVICE

New York - The United Nations Security Council's concern about Africa is a positive start but concrete action is needed to solve the continent's problems, South African Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo said here.

Commenting at the end of the formal ministerial meeting of the council, which he attended as an observer, Mr Nzo urged the council to take action and not just talk.

"One can only hope that the

focus of this meeting will indeed be a programme of action by those countries that think they can help us in solving our problems in Africa.

"But as long as it becomes merely talk, then the situation stays where it was before and no change will come about. So we hope this discussion will be translated into a programme of action - a programme that will bring about concrete change to the situation."

However, he said it was encouraging that the council had for the first time discussed the continent with a positive

focus rather than concentrate on individual crises.

The council asked Secretary-General Kofi Annan to submit a report by February on the causes of conflict in Africa as well as concrete proposals to prevent and address conflicts and how to "lay the foundation for durable peace and economic growth".

The report will be presented to the Security Council, the General Assembly and other UN organs early next year and will form the basis for a UN plan of action on Africa. It is likely the report will focus on economic development issues.

SA is key to future of region, UN says

CT(BR) 29/9/97

TONY HAWKINS

CT(BR) 29/9/97

Harare — Can South Africa and its 13 Southern African Development Community (SADC) partners create a platform for sub-Saharan Africa's economic renaissance?

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (Unctad) tackles this question in its 1997 World Investment Report, published this week. The report concludes that national efforts, rather than regional restructuring, are more likely to help southern Africa's economic development in the immediate future.

All analysts agree that the effect of economic spillovers in southeast Asia was crucial to the region's success. For South Africa to perform a similar role in sub-Saharan Africa, Pretoria would have to lead the region through trade and foreign direct investment, says Unctad.

On the trade side, rapid regional export growth by South Africa is reflected in the growing trade deficits of its neighbours, Unctad says.

More importantly, South Africa could help kickstart the region by increased direct investment in other SADC states, technology transfer and export growth by South African companies relocating or investing in SADC countries.

**SA must
give free
market
access to
its SADC
partners
— Unctad**

But Unctad says two pre-conditions must first be satisfied. First there must be free access to the South African market for exports from its SADC partners. This access is currently available only to Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland.

The second condition is faster growth in South Africa itself. The signs are this will not happen before 1999, especially if agriculture is hard hit by the El Nino factor over the next few months.

Unctad says developments in South Africa's manufacturing industry will be crucial, suggesting a situation whereby South Africa moves upmarket into more capital- and skills-intensive activities, vacating low-skill, labour-intensive industries that could be taken up by its SADC regional partners.

It is an attractive prospect but one unlikely to materialise any time soon. South Africa's own massive unemployment problem will make it think twice before "passing on" job-intensive investment projects to its partners.

A further difference between the Asian and African models is that US demand was crucial in driving the industrialisation of southeast Asia. In Africa, such foreign export demand is confined largely to primary goods. South Africa cannot realistically expect its small and poor African neighbours to stimulate its export sector, and vice-versa.

But this is not to say South Africa will not play a key role in boosting the region's economic performance, provided Pretoria can raise growth rates to a respectable 4 or 5 percent, rather than the 2,3 percent currently forecast for 1997. — Reuter

336

SA 'spurns' seat at centre of real power

Star 14/10/97 (336)

No inclination to push for non-permanent place on Security Council despite having full credentials

MARCO GRANELL
New York

This week the United Nations General Assembly will elect five countries to take up non-permanent seats on the Security Council for a period of two years. Two of these will be from Africa, bringing to three the number of African countries represented in the most powerful body in the world. And once again Africa's most powerful nation will not be among them.

In spite of its continental influence, its military and economic clout, its stature as a founder member of the United Nations and the fact its contributions exceed all those by other African countries - South Africa remains out in the cold in the one arena of true world power.

There is only one reason the powerhouse of Africa has yet to take its place among the world's elite: its government's reluctance to challenge an outdated "gentlemen's agreement" between southern African countries to rotate the non-permanent seats granted to the region.

The UN Charter divides the 10 non-permanent Security Council seats between Africa and Asia (five), Western Europe (two), Latin America and the Caribbean (two) and Eastern Europe (one).

Non-permanent members are elected for two-year terms and may not be immediately re-elected. Take away any agreements or understandings and South Africa could theoretically serve on the Security Council every four years. But in reality southern and eastern Africa share one seat, which means southern Africa only gets a seat every two years. The region then has an agreement to further rotate this seat between its 10 members.

The bottom line is that by following the letter of the unwritten agreement, South Africa may serve only once every 40 years on the most sought-after panel in the world.

The region's quandary is further exacerbated by a history of regional conflict and apartheid which has seen very few take up their position in the rotation until now. South Africa (because of its suspended participation in the UN), Namibia

(because it only recently gained independence from South Africa), Angola and Mozambique (both because of civil wars) all have never served.

Now that the region enjoys relative stability, all are eagerly anticipating an international role so long denied them or out of their reach. First up is Namibia - it has announced its candidature for the seat vacated by Kenya next year. Then the seat returns to east Africa and only when it returns to the south in 2003 will South Africa stand for election.

The system, while undeniably democratic, is not without its critics and growing pressure is being placed on South Africa to at least re-invent a roster which would see it serving more frequently.

Observers at the UN said eyebrows were raised back in 1994 when South Africa made way for Botswana to be elected unchallenged to the Security Council. Those eyebrows have climbed even higher since Namibia announced it was standing for the next seat in 1999 - again without argument from its powerful neighbour.

"The Security Council is not about democracy," explained one delegate. "It's about power and South Africa's reticence to stand is puzzling to say the least."

Critics of the system argue that consideration should be given to factors such as the realities of a country's economic and military influence and its UN contributions. While the charter does not limit participation in the Security Council, it does insist that when electing new members, "due regard be specially paid in the first instance to the contributions of members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security".

It is here South Africa stands head and shoulders above other challengers. South Africa pays the highest membership fee in Africa - last year it contributed 0.32% of the UN budget (R16-million), nearly three times more than Nigeria which contributed only 0.11% and four times as much as Egypt with 0.08%. All other southern African countries contributed the bare minimum of 0.01% (about R470 000).

(South Africa is in the top quarter of member states when it comes to contribu-

GARDEN OF ENCHANTMENT



Extraordinary ... Parc Guél in Barcelona is a strange, miniature garden city of houses for the wealthy in landscape

tions, even outranking countries such as India and New Zealand.) When it comes to peacekeeping operations, South Africa is the only African country classified a "developed country" which means its contributions dwarf its continental neighbours.

But there is another way out: a revised regional roster which would recognise South Africa's power and influence and would ensure the country was elected to the Security Council more frequently. Such a system is the norm elsewhere in the world. In Asia, the more powerful countries dominate the seats. Japan serves every five years, on average, and has served six times since 1970. India too takes up a seat fairly regularly and Pakistan also manages a term every eight years or so.

But South Africa's permanent representative to the UN, Khiphusizi Jele, defended the rotation system and said South Africa was not interested in altering it.

"This system runs very smoothly. There are no hiccups or friction - unlike in other parts of the world where seats are contested. A seat on the Security Council is highly prestigious and along with it comes national pride and a lot of responsibility.

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Barcelona in Barcelona is a strange, enchanting place where Antoni Gaudi turned his hand to landscape gardening in the 1900s. He was hired to create a city of houses for the wealthy in landscaped grounds. He was also the architect of the famous La Sagrada Familia cathedral, which has still to be completed.

countries such as South Africa is classified a "developing" means its contribution to the world is not as great as that of the industrialized nations. South Africa was elected to the Security Council in 1974, replacing the United Kingdom. It is the only African country to have served six times in the past 20 years. South Africa also manages a permanent representative to the Security Council in New York.

Contesting for the seats can lead to friction and diplomatic tension with neighbours. That can be very divisive.

He said it was for this reason Africa had adopted a rotation system which recognised the equality of nations. "We do not want to jump the queue. We respect all countries - regardless of their size or economic influence. That's the African approach and it's also South Africa's approach. This system has gained Africa the respect and admiration of the world and we are happy to wait our turn."

The reason such national pride and importance is attached to a seat is not hard to understand. As the only body empowered to use force and other measures (including economic and diplomatic sanctions), and the only body in the UN whose decisions are binding on all UN member states - unlike General Assembly resolutions which are merely "recommendations" - the council holds mighty sway.

But it also operates beyond peace and security. The council's endorsement is needed for a number of other matters including membership to the UN and the post of secretary-general (as was evidenced last

year when the council effectively fired Boutros Boutros Ghali).

"The Security Council is the only place with any real clout," explained one delegate. "It is the one international organ which no state can disregard - it's got teeth. That's why it's so important for the five permanent members to hold on to their seats and veto power - because they realise the influence it gives them."

While non-permanent members have no "veto power" enjoyed by the permanent five members, they still play a vitally important part in the council. Decisions of the council require at least nine votes and it operates largely on consensus.

The veto, while overarching, is not frequently exercised - particularly since the end of the Cold War. In the past eight years, the veto has been exercised only eight times - five times by the United States, twice by Russia and once by China. Recent decisions regarding sanctions against Unita and Sierra Leone were unanimous.

"For the Security Council to be effective it requires consensus," explained a spokesman. "It would quickly lose its effectiveness were each decision governed by

the five permanent members. The fact non-permanent seats are so highly prized is proof of their importance. All 15 members have equal opportunity to raise issues, sway opinion and vote."

Jele said the fact that South Africa would only serve every 40 years under the system did not mean the country would take a back seat in international affairs. "We serve on almost all the committees at the UN. There are other ways of assuming responsibility other than a Security Council seat."

But this holds little water with some delegates - including some from its own region. "If a country wants something done it doesn't approach its regional leaders - it goes to its closest friend on the Security Council," a southern African delegate said.

"South Africa must decide whether it wants to play a more meaningful role in international affairs or not. The choice is clear. It's chairmanship of SADC is important but it is a unifying rather than leadership role. The real influence is in the Security Council. If the present system is retained SA will never be more than a regional power on the tip of Africa."

OAU peacekeeping plan

Michael Hartnack

SD 22/10/97

HARARE — Chiefs of defence staff from Organisation of African Unity countries hope to draw up a blueprint this week covering all practical aspects of future peacekeeping, from logistics to command.

But the OAU's lack of cash — many members are millions of dollars behind with contributions — overshadowed discussions which began in Harare on Monday. Zimbabwe and other African states that have sent troops to past operations, such as Somalia, have insisted that developed nations should subsidise them with hard currency.

"Africans have found it expedient to hide behind excuses of the inadequacy of logistics and other support systems, constraints of funding, and command and control problems to justify our failure to take decisive action to save lives and property," the acting director of the OAU's political department, Sam Ibok, told commanders who intend to present the plan to the next OAU Council of Ministers in Addis Ababa in February.

Gen Vitalis Zvinvashe, commander of the Zimbabwe defence forces, said the Council of Ministers would in turn ratify a final draft to go before the next OAU summit in Burkina Faso in June.

Zvinvashe — better known by his former guerrilla name, Sheba Gava — said defence experts had gathered as a result of a previous chiefs of defence staff meeting which agreed the OAU must produce "institutional structures and rules which would facilitate peace missions under its auspices". This would not, however, ex-

clude the United Nations from future peacekeeping on the continent, he said.

"A desirable co-ordination should be seen to prevail between the OAU and the UN in respect of providing necessary resources to support peace missions, especially those deployed under the auspices of the OAU," said Zvinvashe.

It was through the UN that the US channelled subsidies to Zimbabwe for its Somalia force.

Ibok warned defence chiefs: "From Burundi to Liberia, from the Democratic Republic of Congo to Congo Brazzaville, we have seen evidence of the increasing reluctance of the rest of the world to become involved in African peace support operations."

Ibok hoped the blueprint could be used to obtain donor backing from the international aid community. Africa had to "exorcise itself of the ghost of secessionism, ethno-nationalism, endemic military coups, genocide and other ills", said Ibok.

Zvinvashe, who is representing Zimbabwe, was among defence chiefs referred to by Amnesty International when it appealed to President Robert Mugabe to remove those associated with the 1980-1988 killing of suspected government opponents in Matabeleland.



Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, right, applauds SA President Nelson Mandela during a ceremony in which they honoured one another with their nations' highest decorations in Cairo yesterday. Mandela praised Mubarak as having 'the tradition of active participation in the struggle to end colonialism and secure the rights of Africa'. Mandela is also to visit Libya. See Page 15

Picture: AP

Embattled UN head faces juggling act

UN boss Kofi Annan tells Edward Mortimer and Richard Lambert why the world needs a restructured and revitalised global forum

10/11/97

(336)

In 1992, when Boutros Boutros Ghali became United Nations (UN) secretary-general, few people doubted the importance of the job. The end of the cold war had freed the UN to act as the global policeman its founders visualised. The Gulf War had shown that a coalition of member states, authorised by the Security Council, could beat back aggression. More UN peacekeeping troops were deployed around the globe than ever before.

Five years later, the task facing Kofi Annan, Boutros Ghali's successor, looks no less daunting. But it is far less glamorous.

Since 1992, the UN has abandoned Somalia, failed to prevent genocide in Rwanda, and been elbowed aside in Bosnia. Its peacekeeping troops have dwindled from 80 000 to 22 000.

No one dares propose a new UN peacekeeping force anywhere, since the US administration would rather use its veto than have to justify such an operation before Congress.

Policing has largely been taken over by regional organisations with one powerful state in control: Nigeria in West Africa, Russia in the former Soviet Union, the US from Bosnia to Haiti.

The UN also faces bankruptcy. Many of the poorer members, as well as the richest, the US, have fallen behind with their dues.

The UN is not allowed to borrow so it has had to raid its own peacekeeping budget (leaving troop contributors unpaid) to settle urgent bills. As UN peacekeeping declines, even that source of finance dries up.

In short, Annan's task is to save the UN, rather than the world. Is he up to the job? And what can he do? Annan owes his position to the US, which last year vetoed a second term for his predecessor. Seeing an Egyptian thus humiliated, African states insisted that the post revert to another

candidate from their continent.

Thus Annan, a US-educated Ghanaian, became, almost by default, the first black African secretary-general.

Kofi gets on with everyone, so he won't get on with anything," jibed a former colleague.

The first half of the statement is true. It is hard to find anyone in the UN who bears Annan a grudge. Nor can anyone remember hearing him raise his voice.

But what about the second half? The idea that he is too nice to make tough decisions is indig-nantly denied by Annan's loyal circle of aides. They bear witness to his firmness in scotching any rivalry among them, as well as the energy with which he is driving the most comprehensive reform programme in the UN's history.

He has already regrouped UN activities into five "clusters", the heads of which meet him weekly as a cabinet, and he is now seeking General Assembly approval for further reforms, such as the cutting of 1 000 jobs and the appointment of a deputy secretary-general who would take over much of his day-to-day management role, leaving him free to provide "sustained intellectual and organisational leadership".

His critics, however, argue that Annan fell at the first fence in July when he backed away from a plan to bring the UN's multiple humanitarian relief agencies together under the Geneva-based High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Faced with fierce resistance from the heads of the agencies concerned, Annan contented himself with giving the role of

"emergency relief co-ordinator" to the head of the department of humanitarian affairs at UN headquarters in New York.

Denying that this was a setback, Annan says he made his own choice. Rather than heap new responsibilities on an already overloaded UNHCR, he preferred to give them to a senior figure close to his own office who, "if we have a problem with government X..." will go down, with my authority, to read the riot act, so that the humanitarian agencies do not get caught in political fights with governments they are working with on the ground.

Annan believes most governments, with the important exception of the US, realise that the UN's significance goes far beyond peacekeeping — that it is, as he puts it, "the only global forum we have and the only organisation that can assist us in these cross-border problems — what I call 'problems without passports' — whether it's environment, drugs or whatever".

In practice, this means the UN cajoling national governments to focus on such problems.

The secretary-general consults regularly with the private sector and with heads of other agencies, including those outside the UN system (such as the World Trade Organisation).

As he points out, the UN has a direct role in development and through the UN Development and World Food programmes — as well as the UN children's and population funds.

And, in addition to that, the UN has for 20 years helped set the

international economic and social agenda through giant conferences such as the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, which popularised the term "sustainable development", and the climate conference to be held in Kyoto this December.

Business, the voluntary sector and most governments find such get-togethers helpful. And, says Annan, "quite a lot of them were very upset that one of the conditions coming out of Jesse Helms was 'no more global conferences'."

Why should Helms, the arch-conservative chairman of the US Senate foreign relations committee, be in a position to dictate terms to the UN? Because without his support, the Clinton administration cannot pay off the arrears which are crippling the UN budget. While Annan and his officials are at pains to present the reform package as good in itself, aimed at enabling a "restructured and revitalised" UN to give all its members better service, everyone knows the Republican majority in Congress is the constituency which has to be satisfied.

Since taking office in January, Annan has already made more visits to Washington than his predecessor did in five years. He is even on first-name terms with Helms, who has agreed with his Democratic opposite number, Joe Biden, on a package to pay the US debt to the UN over three years. This sounds like excellent news for Annan. Unfortunately, from his point of view, there are three things wrong with the package:

□ It computes the arrears to all international organisations (not just the UN) at \$819m, which



ANNAN

Annan has been told may with luck be raised to about \$900m. The UN's own calculations show a US debt to it alone of \$1.3bn.

□ It is part of a larger foreign appropriations bill, which is stalled in conference between the Senate and the House of Representatives. Chris Smith, chairman of the relevant house committee and veteran anti-abortion campaigner, is insisting the bill include language on abortion which President Bill Clinton would feel obliged to veto.

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parliaments. If all tried to dictate UN policy in this way the organisation would grind to a halt.

One of the conditions is that if US's contribution to the UN regular budget be cut from 25% to 20%. Meanwhile, Congress has unilaterally slashed the US share of peacekeeping budget costs.

The shortfall can only be made up by higher contributions from other states, notably Japan and Germany, the two leading ne candidates for permanent membership of the council. Neither willing to pay the peacekeeper premium until it becomes a permanent member.

For the regular budget, Germany's UN ambassador Tono Eitel says his country would accept any "fair" schedule of assessment with or without permanent membership. But other member state believe both German and Japanese perceptions of what is fair will be crucially affected by their prospect of becoming permanent members.

Thus Annan finds it impossible to disentangle his reforms from the issue of who pays what, which in turn connects with the even more fraught question of Security Council enlargement.

He desperately needs the new scale of assessments to be agreed upon by the end of the year so that he can send out assessments for the 1998 budget in January. Yet he knows the regular and peacekeeping budget assessments are linked, and that the peacekeeping one, at least, is linked also to Security Council reform, which will not pass by the end of the year because of rivalry between third world states over the proposed new regional permanent seats for Africa, Asia and Latin America.

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Thus the UN's financial crisis seems set to continue, and the fate of Annan's reforms, in spite of declarations of support from almost every member state, is at best uncertain. — Financial Times.

UN assembly close to adopting Annan's reform package

NEW YORK — The United Nations (UN) General Assembly could adopt the first phase of a UN reform package next week after making progress yesterday at closed-door talks, UN diplomats said.

A participant at the negotiating session of about 25 key states, including the main hold-out, Pakistan, said delegates

were "very close" to agreement on endorsing reforms that UN chief Kofi Annan could implement under his own authority.

Diplomats said the "final touches" to a draft resolution were expected yesterday, and that the 185-nation general assembly could meet at the beginning of next week to adopt the draft resolution by consensus.

The measures include Annan's proposal for a deputy secretary-general and various streamlining actions. But it was uncertain how Pakistan's objections, notably to a disarmament department to be set up at UN headquarters, would be accommodated. Diplomats said the likeliest possibility would be for the resolution to welcome

(336) Annan's plans ... and encourage him to implement them while bearing in mind views expressed by delegations.

The assembly then embarks on discussing other parts of Annan's reform, which include recommendations to governments. A diplomat said this week that those discussions "could take 10 years". — Sapa-AFP.

BD 7/11/97

West dominates UN body

DD 5/3/98

(336)

GENEVA — No representatives of sub-Saharan Africa are taking part in the discussions within the United Nations' committee on the elimination of racial discrimination this year.

The committee started its first period of sessions on Monday, with a representation of nations biased toward western countries.

Of the 18 members of the body, 10 come from Europe, four from Latin America, three from Asia and only one, Egypt's Mahmoud Aboul-Nasr, from Africa.

The absence of representatives from southern Africa was judged by other members as a delicate problem, compounded by the low number of women, with only three in the entity.

Outgoing committee president, Britain's Michael Parker Banton, said the distribution of seats "creates a very serious panorama".

Indian expert Shanti Sadiq Ali described the situation as "tragic" because it was stated in the international convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination that "all civilisations must be represented geographically in our committee".

The last two committee representatives from sub-Saharan Africa, Nigerian Hamzat Ahmadu and Zimbabwe's Andrew Chigovera, withdrew last year.

The absence of delegates from sub-Saharan Africa is due to internal problems, sources say.

UN deputy high commissioner for human rights Enrique ter Horst said that governmental delegates from sub-Saharan Africa could not reach the agreement necessary to designate representatives during the meeting of member states in New York last January. — Sapa-IPS.

Charting roads not yet travelled

(236) ET 19/3/98 (236)

JACOB SELEBI, South Africa's ambassador to the United Nations, was this week unanimously elected to chair the UN Human Rights Commission. We record Selebi's opening address to the 54th session of the commission in Geneva



Jacob Selebi, photographed during his activist years.

IT IS a great privilege and honour for my country, and me personally, to have been elected chairman of the 54th session of the Commission on Human Rights. I should like to thank the African Group for nominating me and the members of the commission for the support and confidence expressed in electing me chairman.

Ambassador Somol, my immediate predecessor, deserves our special thanks for his enthusiasm and indefatigable spirit, not only during the past session but also over the intervening period.

By electing a South African to this most important of international human rights bodies, the commission is sending a very important and symbolic message. No country or situation before or since has captured the attention of the commission in the way that apartheid South Africa did.

Over several decades, the commission adopted scores of resolutions condemning apartheid. It created several mechanisms to investigate the massive and systematic violations perpetrated in South Africa under the pernicious system of racial discrimination and the flagrant abuses of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms.

In 1995, the commission was finally able to remove the question of apartheid from its agenda, in recognition of the developments that had taken place in South Africa during the previous year.

Today, it is a very different South Africa that is able to participate in the UN. We are a country and people that cherish our hard-won liberties and we are rightly proud of our new constitution, our national institutions, designed to strengthen, promote and protect human rights, and of our vibrant civil society.

In saying these things, I am not trying to suggest that we have a perfect human rights record: we do not. The stresses and strains placed upon our society by

'Electing a South African to head this important international human rights commission sends out a vital and symbolic message.'

decades of humiliation and human rights abuses cannot be expunged overnight. Like other societies, we are coming to terms with our past and struggling to create our future.

This year our deliberations coincide with the 50th year of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In the coming weeks we shall have many occasions to speak to the importance of this instrument. At this stage I should like to share with you my vision of how the commission should honour this event.

I can think of no better way for the commission to commemorate the adoption of the universal declaration than for us to express our support for those who devote themselves to defending the ideals

enshrined in this document. This brings me to the Declaration on Human Rights Defenders, which was adopted by the working group, by consensus, earlier this month. The importance of this instrument has been recorded over many previous sessions of the commission. I am very grateful to the excellent work done by the chairman of the working group, Professor Jan Helgesen and his two predecessors. The fruits of the working group underline the importance of dialogue and the need for co-operation, both between states and between states and NGOs.

In the 51 years of its existence, the commission has built an impressive history of achievements in the field of standard-setting and monitoring human rights. From the ashes of the Second World War, the commission has been able to articulate a set of shared values dealing with human rights and fundamental freedoms. While these noble standards and principles are aspirational, they have contributed to the fact that at no other time in history have so many people lived under democracy and freedom. This is no small achievement.

And yet, who amongst us can be content when untold horrors are being committed throughout the world: wars, conflict, ethnic strife, abuses and poverty rob men and women of their dignity and worth, whether they are a refugee fleeing conflict or an unemployed labourer whose children work when they should be at school, or a migrant who is arbitrarily detained, or a person who on account of his or her colour is marginalised, or a child who dies of malaria. There is much work still ahead of us.

The commission has played, and should continue to play, an important role in the promotion and protection of human rights. But to continue to do so, it must, at all times, be relevant and credible and it must take an integrated and co-operative approach. I am therefore proposing to you, members of the commission, that we bring our agenda into line with the world in which we live.

In the past few years, several attempts have been made towards reforming the agenda, including an important proposal two years ago by my predecessor, Gilberto Saboia of Brazil. I believe that we should use the occasion of this important year to consider how best to implement the proposals.

Secondly, important developments in the past few years suggest that the mechanisms of the commission are not working as they should. The Secretary-General himself recognised this when, in his far-ranging proposals of July 16, 1997 he requested the High Commissioner to undertake a review of the mechanisms. Some states are clearly not respecting the mechanisms of the commission but, at the same time, certain of the mechanisms are not earning respect.

We have an opportunity to do something about this. Not to make the mandates weaker, as some fear, or more meddling, as others want, but to make them more effective and enhance their relevance. What I propose is a review of all the mechanisms, from the sub-commission to the working groups to the special procedures, to be undertaken by two members of the bureau, working in concert with the High Commissioner, who would report to the 55th session. I suggest that these two vice-chairs would make recommendations or proposals to the next session based upon their consultations with states, the High Commissioner for Human Rights and NGOs.

My last plea to you is this: we, collectively, can make the commission a more relevant and effective body for the promotion and protection of human rights so that dignity can be enhanced and all freedoms fostered. I sincerely believe that we can best do so in a climate of seriousness and calm. I therefore appeal to all delegates, member states and observers not to use this forum to advance political agendas and engender confrontation, which belong elsewhere, but to promote a genuine spirit of co-operation toward the realisation of all human rights. In closing, I should like to set a challenge to all of us: when our work concludes in six week's time, we should be able to ask ourselves: "Did we make a difference? Has someone's life been improved because of what we did in the past six weeks in Geneva?"

That should be our yardstick.

● South Africa's Human Rights Day on Saturday, March 21, commemorates those who died during the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. International Human Rights Day, December 10, honours the Universal Declaration of Human Rights drawn up by the UN on December 10, 1948.

Veto used 'to detriment of SA'

Stephen Laufer *BD 7/7/98*

(336)

SOME of the five permanent members of the United Nations security council had used their veto rights to the detriment of southern Africa in the past, fuelling calls for the democratisation of the world body, a senior foreign affairs official said yesterday.

Interviewed in the wake of President Nelson Mandela's call in a speech to the Caribbean community meeting in St Lucia for the abolition of the veto rights of the five, SA multilateral affairs deputy director-general Abdul Minty recalled that the US, UK and France had prevented action against SA in the '60s and '70s.

Minty said the three had vetoed effective action against SA when it was in illegal occupation of Namibia, and after it intervened militarily in Angola.

The security council had supported a stronger line in favour of its permanent members in the Falklands and Gulf conflicts than ever in southern Africa.

The use of the veto had originally been connected to the peace and security chapter of the UN charter.

Domestic politics in the US meant it had also been used in recent years to prevent election of senior officials not liked by Washington within the world body.

The UN had on occasion become a hostage to conservative US senator Jesse Helms. The US most recently vetoed the renewal of Boutros Boutros-Ghali's term as secretary-general.

Current US reluctance to engage in peacekeeping in Africa meant that security council endorsement of action was more difficult to achieve on the continent than elsewhere. Proposals for action in Africa did not even reach the council for debate.

This meant that African countries were often left footing the bill for regional security operations while they continued to contribute to activities in places such as the former Yugoslavia, which did have a security council mandate.

A spokesman for the US permanent representative to the UN said yesterday Washington had proposed an expansion of the security council permanent membership by five or six seats.

One each should go to Germany and Japan, with one each to Latin America, Asia, and Africa.

The US had "not taken a position" on extending veto rights to the new permanent members, but would "oppose any infringement on its current powers".

Minty said that if the five current permanent members were not prepared to relinquish their veto rights, the demand from the developing world would be for new members to immediately have all the privileges and powers of the longstanding members. As chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement from September, SA would play a key role on behalf of the developing world in the negotiations on UN reform.